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THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF

HENRY THE THIRD,

TO THE DEATH OF

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

PRECEDED BY

A VIEW

OF THE

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL

STATE OF EUROPE,

BETWEEN THE MIDDLE, AND THE CLOSE, OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By NATHANIEL WILLIAM WRAXALL.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

Under HENRY THE FOURTH.

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CHAP. I.

1589. 2d Auguſt. State of France.

By the ſudden and unexpected death of Henry the Third, and the total extinction of the male deſcendants of the houſe of Valois, in his perſon; the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of France ſeemed inconteſtibly to devolve on the king of Navarre, as firſt prince of the blood.

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blood. His title had even been ſolemnly recognized, and ſtrenuouſly recommended by the late king, to the principal nobility and officers, who ſurrounded him, as he lay expiring. But, notwithſtanding the juſtice and legitimacy of his pretenſions, there exiſted many circumſtances, which, if they did not totally ſubvert, might yet greatly invalidate their force, in the general opinion of the nation. The king of Navarre not only adhered with apparent zeal and fervor, to the reformed religion; but, he had pertinaciouſly rejected the warmeſt ſolicitations, and the moſt flattering offers, made to ſhake his faith. Henry the Third had vainly endeavoured, by every motive of intereſt, ambition, and by their common danger, to induce him to return into the boſom of the Catholic church. Even the confidential embaſſy of Epernon, and the expoſtulations of the queen-mother, Catherine of Medecis; together with the proſpect of the crown itſelf, as the reward of his converſion, had been found unequal to effect ſo ſalutary a change. He had been, only a few years preceding, involved in the penalties annexed to a ſentence of excommunication. Sixtus the Fifth, who occupied the chair of St. Peter, and whoſe iraſcible temper was inflamed by the ſuggeſtions of the emiſſaries of Spain and of the Guiſes; acting in virtue of the apoſtolic power, arrogated by the Romiſh pontiffs, declared the king of Navarre a relapſed, and apoſtate heretic. The inabilities, inflicted by the Papal anathema, included the patrimonial inheritance and poſſeſſions of the family of Bourbon, as well as the crown of France, which he was pronounced incapable to inherit [a]. It is not eaſy for us, in the preſent age, to calculate, or to appreciate the effects of this malediction, among a people, accuſtomed to regard the deciſions of the Holy See, as dictated by infallibility, and inſpired by more than human wiſdom.

Right of ſucceſſion to the crown.

Adherence of the king of Navarre, to the reformed religion.

The ſceptre itſelf, in the unſkilful, or inactive hands of Henry the Third, had ceaſed to enforce obedience, or to inſpire reſpect.

Contempt of the royal power.

[a] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 297, 298.

The

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The effeminacy, and inſurmountable indolence, rather than the crimes of that infatuated prince, had rendered him an object of contumely to his own ſubjects. A great, and powerful faction, availing itſelf of the pretence of religion; ſuſtained on one hand, by the ſpiritual approbation and authority of the ſovereign pontiff; and ſupported on the other, by the arms and treaſures of Philip the Second; had riſen in rebellion. At its head, was the duke of Mayenne, a leader neither deficient in capacity, nor ambition; and who was impelled by every incitement of honor, affection, and intereſt, to revenge the recent aſſaſſination of his brothers, at Blois. He was in poſſeſſion of the capital, of the richeſt provinces, of the moſt commodious harbours, and of the affections of a great proportion of the inhabitants of France. The rapid ſucceſs of the royal arms, after Henry the Third had been awakened from his habitual apathy, had, it is true, promiſed a ſpeedy and proſperous termination of the conteſt. Paris, inveſted by ſuperior forces, elated with advantages of various kinds, ſeemed to be on the point of unconditional ſubmiſſion. But, the knife of Clement had deprived Henry at once of life and victory, in the moment when fortune appeared to be moſt propitious. The nobility, who, from a ſenſe of duty and allegiance, had flocked to his ſtandard, and crouded round the throne, might not eaſily be induced to own a Hugonot ſucceſſor. Still leſs could it be expected, that the minions, whom the improvident profuſion or partiality of Henry had elevated to the ſummit of favour and preferment, would transfer their affections and ſervices to a ſtranger, ſcarcely their ſuperior. The army, compoſed of mercenaries and ſtipendiaries, of oppoſite religions, was only to be retained under its banners, by the powerful inducement of conſtant and regular pay. In the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, and the unſettled condition of the crown, it was hardly poſſible that the king of Navarre could, by any expedient, ſupply ſo eſſential a defect, or hope to prevent the deſertion of his forces.

Factions.

Duke of Mayenne.

Paris.

The nobility.

The army.

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Nature of the king of Navarre's title.

Nor was even his title, however inconteſtible, altogether exempt from ſome degree of obſcurity, doubt, and uncertainty. He was, indeed, lineally deſcended, in common with Henry the Third, from the ſame anceſtor, Louis the Ninth; and he was related to his predeceſſor, in the tenth to the eleventh degree [2]. But, hiſtory furniſhed no example of a crown, inherited, or obtained, in virtue of ſo remote a right of conſanguinity; and it was queſtioned among the moſt eminent civilians, whether in caſes of private ſucceſſion, all claims derived from blood, did not ceaſe and extinguiſh after the ſixth generation.

Competitors.

Cardinal of Bourbon.

The family of Bourbon itſelf might produce numerous and formidable competitors to the king of Navarre. His uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon, had been publickly declared by a royal edict, iſſued in the preceding year, the neareſt relation of the reigning ſovereign; and as ſuch, entitled to various privileges, or prerogatives, uſually conferred excluſively on the preſumptive heir to the throne [3]. His zeal for the Catholic religion roſe to bigotry; and as he had lent his name and co-operation to all the machinations of the League, that faction affected to conſider him as the only rightful ſucceſſor. His title had not wanted advocates; and writings were compoſed and diſſeminated, to prove it ſuperior to the claim of his nephew [4]. Even though his age, infirmities, and eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, ſhould be thought to diſqualify him for ſwaying the ſceptre, or devolving it to his immediate poſterity; and though his detention in confinement rendered him unable to mix perſonally in the conteſt; yet, other rivals might be found in the houſe of Bourbon.

Sons of Louis, prince of Condé.

The prince of Conti, the count of Soiſſons, and the young cardinal of Vendome, ſons of Louis, prince of Condé, who fell at Jarnac, had all been educated in the Romiſh perſuaſion. They had, indeed,

[2] Chronol. Noven. vol. i. p. 18, and p. 253. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 405.

[3] De Thou, vol. x. p. 349.

[4] Ibid. p. 350, 351. Chron. Noven. vol. i. p. 18, 19.

hitherto,

1589.

hitherto, manifeſted the moſt unſhaken zeal and devotion towards the chief and head of their race, whom they had favored, or openly aided, during the preceding reign. But, it was not impoſſible, that their virtue might be unequal to the temptation and proſpect of a crown; or, that ambition might altogether extinguiſh their loyalty and allegiance.

The Salic law.

The Salic law itſelf, on which alone reſted all the pretenſions of the king of Navarre, however venerable and ſacred from long preſcription; was, like all human inſtitutions, ſubject to change, and liable to be annulled, or abrogated. In the preſent ſituation of France, no revolution could be regarded as improbable. The States General, if convoked, might, as the repreſentatives of the nation, proceed to exerciſe their inherent and inalienable right, to elect a new ſovereign, on the complete extinction of the reigning family. If proximity of blood, independant of paternal deſcent, ſhould be regarded as conferring a title to the crown, the king of Navarre muſt be neceſſarily removed to an immeaſureable diſtance. Catherine of Medecis, who dreaded, and deprecated the acceſſion of the branch of Bourbon, which ſhe beheld as certain, if not imminent, after the deceaſe of the duke of Anjou; had endeavoured to ſubvert, or to elude the Salic law. She attempted to perſuade the king her ſon to adopt his nephew, the prince of Lorrain, ſon to Claudia of France, daughter of Henry the Second; and to procure his recognition as ſucceſſor to the throne[a]. Nor was it improbable, that the ſcheme might have been realized, if the prince, for whom ſhe projected to ſecure ſo rich an inheritance, had poſſeſſed the great endowments which diſtinguiſhed his relation, the duke of Guiſe. Philip the Second might prefer the claim of the infanta, Clara Iſabella, his daughter by Elizabeth, the elder ſiſter of Claudia, ducheſs of Lorrain. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, whoſe aſpiring mind, and enterprizing

Plan of Catherine of Medecis, to alter the ſucceſſion.

Other pretenders.

[a] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 276, 277.

ambition,

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ambition, were ill aſſorted to the barren and contracted nature of his dominions; could, with equal reaſon, urge his deſcent on the maternal ſide, from Francis the Firſt. Above all theſe competitors, the duke of Mayenne himſelf, elevated by a coincidence of circumſtances, to the ſupreme command of the League, and diſpoſed to avail himſelf of the bounty of fortune, might ſeize the vacant ſceptre, and become, like Hugh Capet, the founder of a new dynaſty of kings.

Character of Henry, king of Navarre.

Such were the critical, and almoſt deſperate circumſtances, in which the French monarchy was left, at the extinction of the family of Valois. It muſt, indeed, be owned, that the king of Navarre was more indebted for his ultimate attainment of the crown, to the great qualities, intellectual and perſonal, conferred on him by nature; than to the juſtice of his pretenſions, however manifeſt and acknowledged. He was at this time, in the prime of life, and in the vigor of his talents, not having accompliſhed his thirty-ſixth year.

His education.

His body, accuſtomed from the earlieſt infancy, among the Pyrenean mountains, to endure the inclemency of the elements, and the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons; had become habituated to the boldeſt exertions, and capable of ſupporting the ſevereſt privations [6]. His childhood had been familiarized with danger, and trained to war, under one of the moſt eminent commanders of the age, Coligni. He was preſent, though rather as a ſpectator, than an actor, at the battle of Montcontour; not having been permitted to mix in the ſhock: yet, at that early period of life, he had ſhewn an aptitude for military affairs; and had even pointed out the defect in Coligni's diſpoſition, which produced the defeat of the Hugonot forces [7]. Exempted, after long debates, from the indiſcriminate ſlaughter of his friends and adherents, at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; he was only reſerved for every

Captivity.

ſpecies of inſult, menace, and ſeverity. His captivity did not terminate with the life of Charles the Ninth. Under the ſucceeding reign,

[6] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 243. [7] Ibid. vol. i. p. 251.

he

he was transferred as a priſoner of ſtate, by Catherine of Medecis, wherever the court removed; expoſed to perpetual machinations againſt his life; compelled to profeſs a religion contrary to his conviction; and finally reduced to a ſtate of oblivion and inſignificance. 1589.

Exile in Gaſcony.

During more than thirteen years, which had elapſed ſince his eſcape from the court of Henry the Third, he had remained a fugitive and an exile, in a remote corner of the kingdom, beyond the Garonne; ſometimes forgotten, but, more frequently perſecuted by the Guiſes, and driven to the laſt extremities, by the hoſtile invaſion of the royal armies, which purſued him even to the gates of his capital. Deſtitute of territories; and beholding his antient patrimony of Navarre incorporated with the Spaniſh monarchy; he was equally deprived of political power; and Bourdeaux, though the chief city of the province of Guienne, of which he was the nominal governor, conſtantly refuſed to permit his entrance into the place. Yet, under ſo many adverſe circumſtances, the ſuperiority of his talents, the heroiſm of his character, and the affability of his deportment, procured him numerous adherents. The little court of Navarre was crouded with gentlemen and adventurers, who, attracted by the amenity of Henry's manners, and ſuſtained by the flattering proſpect of his probable, or poſſible ſucceſſion to the French crown, waited with firmneſs and conſtancy, for the future and diſtant recompence of their fidelity. We muſt admit, that Providence has rarely united in any one individual, a greater number of qualities calculated to ſupport a ſinking monarchy, to extricate from anarchy a whole nation, and to contribute to the general felicity of mankind. His courage, ardent and impetuous in the field, was yet void of temerity, controlled by reaſon, and directed by judgment. On a day of battle, he knew how to unite the functions of a general, with the valor of a private ſoldier. At Coutras, after making the ableſt diſpoſition to ſecure a victory, he mingled in the fray, like a common man, at the head of the

Want of power.

His talents.

Courage.

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the ſquadrons; took many priſoners with his own hand; and purſued the flying enemy, his ſword covered with blood[8]. No prince ever ſacrificed leſs to eaſe or indolence; and he poſſeſſed a body capable of ſeconding the energy of his mind. In the camp, he was indefatigable, patient of hunger, content with ſhort and interrupted repoſe; preſent at every poſt; and committing nothing to delegates, which could be ſuperintended in perſon. Tolerant, in an age of perſecution, he was free from all the aſperity, characteriſtic of the period; and he extended the ſame equal protection to the Catholic, as to the Proteſtant followers, who adhered to his cauſe. He had diſplayed the expanſion of his mind, by inducing the inhabitants of Rochelle to admit the celebration of the Romiſh worſhip within their walls; and when, at the head of a victorious army of Hugonots, he advanced through Poitou, into the province of Berry, only a ſhort time preceding his reconciliation with Henry the Third, he maintained the Catholics in the full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all their civil and eccleſiaſtical rights[9]. A conduct ſo enlarged and beneficent, excited univerſal eſteem, and endeared him to the nation.

Activity.

Tolerance, and liberality.

Accuſtomed to live on terms of familiarity, and almoſt of equality, with his courtiers; the king of Navarre might rather be conſidered as a diſtinguiſhed individual, than a ſovereign prince. Unable to reward his ſervants, like other monarchs; the paucity of his revenues, and the deficiency of his pecuniary reſources, neceſſitated him to ſupply the defect by augmented affability and courteſy. Poſſeſſing a heart capable of the impreſſions of eſteem and attachment, he enjoyed a privilege, rarely accorded to thoſe who occupy a throne; and he could boaſt of having friends, as well as flatterers. We may ſee in the writings of Sully and of d'Aubigné, with what ſincerity, and even ſeverity, thoſe ſteady and inflexible followers ventured, on va-

Courteſy.

[8] Sully, vol. i. p. 59. D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 54, 55.
[9] De Thou, vol. x. p. 584—586.

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rious and delicate occaſions, to treat their maſter. We follow with ſympathy and intereſt, the narration of their frequent quarrels, reconciliations, and mutual forgiveneſs. Born with a temper naturally diſpoſed to chearfulneſs and gaiety, he was never dejected by adverſe fortune, or overcome by difficulties. Obſervant of his promiſes, and tenacious of his word, in a period of general treachery and duplicity; he ſtood ſtrikingly oppoſed in that particular, to the character of the time. In the magnanimous contempt of injuries, he was not inferior to Louis the Twelfth; and in clemency, he equalled the Roman dictator. Economical from temper, he was, nevertheleſs, free from avarice; and he knew how to reward with promptitude, or to diſpenſe favours with liberality. His education had been ſuch as befitted his high birth; and he had been early familiarized with the great writers of Greece and Rome; though his diſpoſition was averſe to ſtudy, and little calculated or inclined to ſedentary occupations [10].

Clemency.

Theſe eminent virtues, and ſplendid endowments, were not unmixed with frailties and weakneſſes. Yet, even here, we may find much to extenuate, and much to pardon. The ſallies of his anger were violent; but, they ſpeedily gave place to the natural placability and benignity of his nature. The accuſations of inſenſibility, parſimony, and ingratitude, towards the friends or ſervants, who had expended their fortunes, and expoſed their lives in his ſervice; may not be altogether deſtitute of truth, or foundation [11]. But, ſuch imputations might be affixed on Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius; and muſt be, in a degree, laid to the charge of every ſovereign. In order to decide on their validity, concurring teſtimonies are requiſite to produce conviction. The predominant and characteriſtic vice of the king of Navarre, was his unreſtrained libertiniſm, and attachment to the pleaſures of women. Nor did it affix a greater blemiſh on his

Defects of that prince.

Parſimony.

Libertiniſm.

[10] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 247, 248.

[11] D'Aubigné, Memoires, p. 60 and 63, and 104.

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moral reputation, than it was injurious to his views and enterprizes of every kind. It enervated his valor, checked his progreſs, and impelled him on actions the moſt unjuſtifiable, or pernicious. Such was the empire of gallantry and debauch in the court of Navarre, that it mixed with all the operations of policy, and had an influence on the deciſion of peace and war. It is well known, that the renewal of hoſtilities, in 1580, between Henry the Third and his Hugonot ſubjects, was not only unprovoked on the part of the crown; but, that it originated wholly in the reſentment of the ladies of the court of Nerac, who induced their lovers to take up arms, and to involve the kingdom in civil diſſenſion [12]. Some years afterwards, in 1587, the ſame paſſion ſuſpended the exertions of the king of Navarre, when he had defeated the duke of Joyeuſe, at Coutras. Inſtead of advancing, as he might and ought to have done, towards the Loire, at the head of his victorious troops, and extricating the German army which had entered France; he quitted ſo fair a proſpect of renown and advantage, to return into Gaſcony, in order to lay the trophies of his late triumph, at the feet of his miſtreſs, the counteſs of Guiche [13].

Pernicious effects of his paſſion for women.

Reflexions.

If we ſeek to draw a veil over theſe defects, or to find reaſons for palliating them; we may be furniſhed with ſome materials, in the univerſal profligacy and licentiouſneſs of the age; in the youth and complexion of the king of Navarre; and above all, in the abandoned exceſſes of his queen, Margaret of Valois; who, not ſatisfied with diſhonoring his bed by her infidelities, condeſcended to become the inſtrument of his lawleſs pleaſures, and to facilitate his projects of debauchery and ſeduction [14].

State of the royal camp, at the time of Henry the Third's deceaſe.

During the courſe of the night in which Henry the Third expired, the king of Navarre, who had retired to his quarters at Meudon, followed by a conſiderable number of the nobility; convened his ſelect and confidential friends, in order to deliberate on the mea-

[12] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 223. D'Aubigné, Memoires, p. 78, 79.

[13] D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 58.

[14] Vie de Marg. de Val. p. 314, 315.

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ſures neceſſary to be adopted. The criſis was one of the moſt awful, and important, which could occur in the hiſtory of nations; and on the wiſdom, vigor, and promptitude of his counſels, might, in a great meaſure, depend, his eventual attainment of the throne of France. A moment of pauſe and ſtupefaction had ſucceeded to the death of his predeceſſor, and the extinction of a line of princes, who had ſwayed the ſceptre for above two hundred and ſixty years. The nobility, officers, and troops, were all alike agitated with contending emotions, and uncertain of their own future deſtiny, as well as of the fate of the monarchy itſelf. It was requiſite to avail himſelf of the inſtant; and to embrace a ſyſtem, either of prudence and ſafety, or of enterprize and audacity, before the general impreſſion of rage and indignation for the murder of their common ſovereign, had been weakened or diſſipated by time. Above all, it imported, to retain the army under its banners, and to procure the univerſal recognition of the king of Navarre, as the only and lawful ſucceſſor.

Momentous criſis.

The moſt cautious, or timid, of that prince's adherents, doubtful of the allegiance of the nobility, and the fidelity of the troops, who might even ſeize and deliver him up to his enemies; thought that his perſonal ſafety ought to be alone conſidered as the firſt object. They adviſed him inſtantly to direct his march towards the Loire; and to eſtabliſh his authority at Tours, in which city Henry the Third had fixed the parliament of Paris; and from whence he might with eaſe maintain a communication with the provinces of Poitou, Guienne, and Gaſcony, where his friends were numerous and powerful [13]. But, this ſentiment, equally inglorious and injudicious, was warmly and ſucceſsfully combated by others of his counſellors. It was ably and eloquently ſtated, that, to abandon the country north of the Loire, and to make a precipitate retreat from the capital, would be followed by the moſt fatal conſequences, at the commencement of a

Advice of his adherents.

Oppoſite opinion and counſel.

[13] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 4.

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new reign. That ſuch a ſtep could only be deemed a flight, and muſt neceſſarily produce all the effects of ſo puſillanimous and ignominious a determination. That vigor and firmneſs would confirm the wavering, awe the diſaffected, and inſpire with confidence the loyal. That the nobility, if forſaken by their prince, would conſult their ſeparate intereſts, and either join the League, or retire to their caſtles, as unintereſted ſpectators of the conteſt. They added, that only immediate and ſpirited exertions were requiſite, to retain the Swiſs auxiliaries, whom Sancy had brought to the aid of the late king; and whoſe aſſiſtance, or deſertion, might be deciſive of the future ſucceſs of the royal cauſe [16].

Henry embraces the latter ſentiment.

Counſels ſo analogous to the genius of the king of Navarre, and ſo inconteſtibly dictated by the nature of his ſituation, were inſtantly purſued.

Exertions of Sancy.

Sancy, whoſe loyalty and zeal had not waited to be impelled to action, anticipated the application which he foreſaw would be made to him; and having convoked the principal officers of the Swiſs forces under his command, he diſcloſed to them the intelligence of Henry the Third's deceaſe. He then beſought them, by the recollection of their antient virtue, fidelity, and national honor, not to abandon the new ſovereign, Henry of Bourbon, become king of France. He repreſented to them, that the alliance and engagements of the Helvetic confederacy were made, not with the late monarch, but, with the French crown, which was permanent and unchangeable. In every event, he adjured them to give an example of temporary obedience and ſubmiſſion, by remaining firm in their allegiance, till a deputation could be ſent to the Cantons: and in the intermediate time, not to demand, or exact the arrears of their pay, which it muſt be difficult, if not impoſſible to furniſh, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs [17].

and of Biron.

To theſe weighty and powerful exhortations, were added the entreaties of marſhal Biron; who, though he regarded the extinction, or

[16] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 4, 5.

[17] Ibid. p. 5, 6.

diſmem-

diſmemberment of the monarchy as imminent, and inevitable, yet, adhered inviolably to the order of ſucceſſion, and exerted himſelf to maintain the crown on the head of the king of Navarre [18]. The Switzers, after manifeſting ſome ſymptoms of irreſolution; ſenſible that they muſt not only loſe the arrears already due to them; but, might, with difficulty, effect their return to their own country, through ſo many hoſtile provinces; expreſſed their readineſs to comply with the requeſt of Sancy. He himſelf was deputed, at the head of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, to convey the welcome information to the new king. Henry received it with teſtimonies of joy, and expreſſions of gratitude, proportioned to the magnitude and importance of the ſervice. It was ſcarcely poſſible to perform one of greater conſequence, or which was likely to be attended with more beneficial effects. Already he began to feel the crown confirmed upon his head; and renouncing every idea of marching towards Tours, it was unanimouſly reſolved to proſecute the war in the provinces to the north of the Loire, and to embrace the moſt vigorous meaſures for extinguiſhing the rebellion of the League [19].

The Switzers agree to remain firm to Henry.

Vigorous meaſures embraced.

Proſperous as this commencement of affairs might be eſteemed, a more arduous and doubtful taſk remained to undertake. Neither the adherence of the Hugonots, nor the co-operation of the foreign troops, if unſupported by the Catholic princes, nobility, and officers in the royal army, could maintain the king of Navarre on the throne. Even his title appeared to want its beſt ſtamp of authenticity, and to be eſſentially deficient, till it was recognized by the latter illuſtrious body. They had already met, in the houſe where Henry the Third expired, in order to deliberate on the ſteps requiſite to be taken, under circumſtances ſo new and extraordinary. The debates were long, violent, and tumultuous. Thoſe who were either bigotted, or diſaffected, declared their reſolution to prefer the ſpiritual intereſts of religion

Convocation of the Catholic nobility.

3d Auguſt.

Debates in the aſſembly.

[18] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 406.

[19] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 7, 8.

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ligion before all other conſiderations: and peremptorily refuſed to acknowledge a prince, excommunicated by the Holy See, inimical to the Catholic faith, and incorrigible in error[20]. The ſmaller number, whoſe loyalty to the crown, and deſire of preſerving the integrity and indiviſibility of the monarchy, extinguiſhed their ſcruples, and ſurmounted their apprehenſions; profeſſed a readineſs to own the king of Navarre unconditionally; and thought that it imported, even for the intereſts of religion, to let that recognition precede every other meaſure. Between the two extremes, aroſe a third propoſition, which was at length adopted with a degree of general conſent. It was agreed, to ſend a deputation to offer to declare Henry king of France, and to maintain him with their lives and fortunes, on the expreſs condition, that he would immediately renounce his religious tenets, and aſſume the public exerciſe of the Romiſh worſhip. The dukes of Longueville, and Luxembourg, were empowered and enjoined to communicate to him the determination of the aſſembly[21].

Propoſition, ultimately adopted.

In the anſwer of Henry, to ſo unanimous and important a notification, we are at a loſs whether moſt to admire his judgment, his magnanimity, or the elevation and dignity of his ſentiments. After having deliberated on the meſſage, and weighed its nature, in a ſelect convocation of his moſt faithful adherents; he replied, without perturbation, or uneaſineſs; that he could not accept the tender made him of the ſceptre, on the condition annexed to it by the donors. He repreſented to the Catholic deputies, that the immediate deſertion of a religion, which he had followed from conviction, and the aſſumption of another, without examination or information of any ſort; would diſhonor him in his own eſtimation, and in that of all mankind. He profeſſed, nevertheleſs, his deſire of being inſtructed, and his diſpoſition to ſubmit himſelf, and his opinions, to the deciſion of a general, or a national council, legitimately aſſembled. He reminded

Magnanimous anſwer of the king.

[20] Davila, p. 823, 824. [21] Davila, p. 822—825. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 407, 408.

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them of the invariable and ſteady adherence to his promiſes, on which he had always piqued himſelf; and offered to ſubmit to any conditions or limitations, which might be judged neceſſary to ſecure the Catholic faith and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. While he aſſured the nobility of France, in terms of gratitude and affection, that they were the objects of his paternal ſolicitude, and the eſpecial ſupport of the throne, ſhaken and convulſed by faction; he conjured them not to diſhonor their order, by abandoning the lineal heir of their antient monarchs, by leaving unavenged the recent murder of his predeceſſor, and by expoſing the kingdom to the utmoſt efforts of anarchy and rebellion [22].

Its beneficial effect.

A reſolution, at once ſo temperate and ſo conciliating, yet, blended with majeſty and firmneſs, produced the effect for which it was intended. An inſtrument was prepared, and ſigned by the contracting parties, in virtue of which the princes of the blood, the lords, gentlemen, and great officers of every deſcription in the royal camp, acknowledged Henry of Bourbon for their only and rightful ſovereign. He engaged on his part, to maintain inviolate the antient, national religion; to cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed in the principles and doctrines of the Romiſh perſuaſion, within the ſpace of ſix months; to exclude from public offices, or employments, ſuch as made profeſſion of the Hugonot worſhip, or belief; and to adhere ſtrictly to all the limitations, contained in the edicts iſſued by his predeceſſor, granting liberty of conſcience to the Proteſtants. By an expreſs article, he permitted the nobility to depute one of their own body, to expreſs their filial obedience to the ſovereign pontiff, and to explain to his holineſs the motives, which had induced them to own and ſupport a heretic, excommunicated by the ſee of Rome [23]. Such were the conditions, upon which the king of Navarre received

Engagement, contracted by Henry.

[22] Davila, p. 825, 826. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 11—14.

[23] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 408, 409. Chron. Noven. vol. i. p. 244, 245. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 9, 10. Davila, p. 827, 828.

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the homage and the oaths of allegiance of his Catholic ſubjects. He was immediately proclaimed, by the title of Henry the Fourth: a name which hiſtory has conſecrated; and which in all the revolutions of human affairs, will continue to preſent to every mind not totally inſenſible or uncultivated, the image of a prince, born for the delight and for the felicity of mankind.

1589. 4th Auguſt. His proclamation.

Notwithſtanding the degree of unanimity which had appeared in the proceedings relative to ſo great an object, and the apparent ſubmiſſion of all ranks to the new king; there were not wanting perſons of the higheſt quality, who refuſed, or declined to ſupport his pretenſions. The duke of Epernon, long accuſtomed to exerciſe an almoſt uncontrouled authority under his late maſter, could ill ſubmit to bend beneath a ſtranger. He had, indeed, from a ſort of rivality to Joyeuſe, and from his hatred to the Guiſes, declared himſelf a partizan of the houſe of Bourbon, and endeavoured to effect the reconciliation of Henry the Third with his preſumptive ſucceſſor. But, many recent cauſes of diſunion and alienation had ariſen between him and the king of Navarre; nor was the high and independant ſpirit of the latter, formed to receive laws from an inſolent and haughty minion [24]. Epernon, apprehenſive that Henry might, beſides, ſolicit him in his preſent diſtreſs, for pecuniary aſſiſtance; and unwilling to extend any relief to his ſovereign; not only refuſed to ſign the declaration ſubſcribed by the nobility, upon a ſlight pretence of punctilio; but, demanded his immediate diſmiſſion. Quitting the camp, at the head of his numerous followers, and profeſſing his determination neither to join the faction of the League, nor that of Spain; he retired into the province of Touraine, and ultimately fixed his reſidence in the city of Angouleme [25].

Conduct of the duke of Epernon.

He quits the camp.

Nor did the ſpirit of deſertion ſtop with Epernon. Many other noblemen, imitating his example, withdrew under various pretexts,

Diſcontent, and deſertion in the royal army.

[24] Davila, p. 822.

[25] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 11. Davila, p. 828. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 409.

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or excuſes, and retreated to their caſtles. Vitry, unreſtrained by gratitude to his benefactor Henry the Third; or by duty to his ſucceſſor, openly joined the party of the League. Happily, the precedent was copied by few, and reprobated by all. Yet, ſuch was the general coldneſs or diſaffection among the ſoldiery, that the exertions of Biron, with difficulty, retained the Switzers under their colours; and ſo great was the deſertion among the French, that in the ſpace of only five days ſubſequent to the aſſaſſination of the king, the army was reduced to leſs than half its numbers, and continued rapidly to diminiſh. Even the Hugonots themſelves, doubtful of the adherence of their chief to his religious principles; and already dreading, or anticipating his reconciliation to the Romiſh church, as neither diſtant nor problematical; began to murmur at Henry's partiality towards the Catholics, and accuſed him of ingratitude towards thoſe who had originally raiſed him to his preſent greatneſs [26]. In ſo delicate a ſituation, ſurrounded with perils, and diſtruſtful of all, the king betrayed no dejection. Aſſuming from neceſſity, a diſſimulation foreign to his character; and exerting the affability natural to him, he ſoothed, careſſed, and promiſed, by turns. To the Hugonots, as the companions of his early life, and adverſe fortune, he affected to ſhew confidence and unreſerve. Towards the eccleſiaſtics, he behaved with marks of conſideration and reſpect; accompanied with expreſſions of veneration for the Holy See, and a diſpoſition to be informed on points of doctrine. He honored the nobility and military officers, with the flattering appellations of the reſtorers of their country and of the royal dignity. Nor did he omit to conciliate the meaneſt of his ſubjects, by gracious ſpeeches; by a commiſeration of their diſtreſs; and by excuſes for the unhappy neceſſity to which his enemies reduced him, of quartering his forces upon the peaſants, and exacting from them contributions [27]. We are com-

7th Auguſt.

Hugonots.

Able conduct and behaviour of Henry.

Conciliating manners.

[26] Davila, p. 829, 830.

[27] Davila, p. 830.

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pelled to acknowledge, at every page of the reign of Henry the Fourth, that he owed his acquiſition of the crown, not ſo much to the virtues, as to the various and ſublime endowments, which nature had united in his compoſition.

Events in Paris.

While theſe tranſactions were performed in the royal camp, events not leſs intereſting and important had taken place in Paris. During the interval which elapſed between the firſt intelligence of Clement's attempt upon the perſon of Henry the Third, and the knowledge of its final conſequence; all was ſuſpenſe, amazement, and agitation, throughout the capital. But, no ſooner was the intelligence of his death divulged, than the Pariſians abandoned themſelves to the moſt immoderate tranſports of univerſal and indecent joy. The ducheſs of Montpenſier, whoſe thirſt of revenge for the loſs of her brothers, could only be ſatiated by the blood of the king; and who is, not without reaſon, ſuppoſed to have been privy to the enterprize itſelf, and even to have ſtimulated the fanaticiſm of the aſſaſſin; betrayed her fierce and inexorable ſpirit in its utmoſt force [28]. Unreſtrained either by the decorum of her ſex, or by any conſiderations of general propriety, ſhe laviſhed encomiums on the act, as an effort of pious and patriotic zeal; and did not heſitate to diſtribute, with her own hand, badges of exultation to the principal adherents of the League [29]. Nor were the inhabitants of the metropolis, though their rage and deteſtation of the late king, as the murderer of the Guiſes, was, in ſome meaſure, extinguiſhed by his death; leſs unanimous or violent in their determination to exclude from the throne, his preſumptive ſucceſſor. In order to maintain this ſpirit, ſo eſſential to all his views, the duke of Mayenne, after communicating to the cities of his party, the information of Henry the Third's aſſaſſination and deceaſe; of which he, however, denied any previous knowledge, or participation;

Indecent joy of the inhabitants.

Ducheſs of Montpenſier.

Duke of Mayenne.

[28] De Thou, vol. x. p. 670.

[29] Mem. pour ſer. a l'Hiſt. de Fra. p. 286, 287.

prepared

prepared to embrace meaſures for the ſupport and prolongation of his own power [30].

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The vacancy of the throne, and the complete extinction of the reigning family, opened to an ambitious mind, proſpects equally dazzling, and unbounded. He beheld himſelf at the head of a faction, poſſeſſed of authority, revenues, and reſources, little ſhort of royal. Various paths, and modes of conduct, preſented themſelves to him for his choice and preference. If moderation, repoſe, and ſolid greatneſs, were the objects of his reſearch, he might gratify them to his utmoſt wiſh, by opening a negotiation with the new king; who, he well knew, was ready to grant him any terms, however exorbitant, and almoſt to divide with him the monarchy itſelf. On a ſuppoſition that his ſcruples of conſcience, or his apprehenſions of the reſentment of the zealous partizans of the League, might deter him from treating with a Hugonot; a ſtill more glorious and diſintereſted track lay before his view. He might addreſs himſelf to the Catholic lords and officers in the royal camp; and call upon them, to aid him in compelling their common ſovereign to abjure his errors, and return into the boſom of the Catholic church; or, to join with him and his adherents, in electing another of the royal blood, to fill the vacancy. So elevated a proceeding would have placed him among the moſt illuſtrious names in hiſtory; diffuſed felicity, reſtored general peace, ſecured religion, and entitled him to the applauſe of his own, as well as of future times. If ambition and the thirſt of power predominated above every other conſideration of private ſafety, or public virtue, he might place the crown on his own head. Promptitude, energy, and deciſion, were alone wanting to effect ſo vaſt an object. His ſiſter, the ducheſs of Montpenſier, whoſe maſculine mind, and enterprizing character, fitted her for the moſt daring projects; urged him, in defiance of open enemies, or ſecret machina-

Objects, and proſpects of Mayenne.

[30] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 19, 20.

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tions, to ſeize the occaſion, which, if loſt, could never be retrieved [31]. Nor can it be queſtioned, that, however adverſe Philip the Second, or Sixtus the Fifth, might have been to his uſurpation; and, whatever repugnance the council of union, which, under the duke of Mayenne, conducted the affairs of the League, might manifeſt at his elevation to the throne; that his inſtant aſſumption of it muſt have extinguiſhed, or overborne all oppoſition [32]. Perhaps, a ſituation more arduous, and critical, has never been realized; or, which demanded a greater aſſemblage of talents, and more elevation of mind, to decide on the preferable line of action.

Critical and arduous ſituation.

Character of Mayenne.

His qualities.

It is in the character of the duke of Mayenne himſelf, that we muſt ſeek for the explication of the alternative, which he ultimately embraced. He was, at this time, in the vigor of life, and nearly of the ſame age with the king of Navarre. His reputation for valor and military ſkill, was high; nor had the defects of his temper and diſpoſition been diſcloſed, by his election to a poſt the moſt perilous, which could be occupied by a ſubject. Naturally moderate, and averſe to violent counſels, he had diſapproved the meaſures of his brother, the duke of Guiſe; and had even warned the late king to beware of his intentions and machinations [33]. A ſenſe of honor and indignation, rather than a ſpirit of revenge, or rebellion, had impelled him to take up arms. He poſſeſſed few of the eſſential qualifications for the head and chief of a great party. Irreſolute in his determinations; ſlow in execution; diſtruſtful of thoſe about him, and negligent of affairs; he was an unequal antagoniſt to the king of Navarre. Indulgent to his appetites; inert and ſluggiſh in his perſon; and attached to the gratifications or pleaſures of the table; he allowed the favorable moment of action to eſcape. Profuſe from habit, he was always deſtitute of pecuniary reſources, and compelled

[31] Davila, p. 834, 835.

[32] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 412. Memoires de Villeroy, vol. i. avis au duc de Mayenne, p. 502—547.

[33] De Thou, vol. x. p. 444.

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to recur to the Spaniſh monarch for aſſiſtance. His gravity was tinctured with pride, and not far removed from morſeneſs. Procraſtinating and undecided, he always preferred delay; and embraced counſels of ſafety, rather than of energy [34]. In the preſent conjuncture, he neither aſpired to render himſelf king of France; nor accepted the overtures, which Henry the Fourth contrived to make for a definitive agreement, through the medium of Villeroy; who had, after his diſmiſſion from the office of ſecretary of ſtate in the late reign, embraced the party of the League [35]. Anxious only, by ſome temporary expedient, to poſtpone the deciſion on a point of ſuch magnitude and importance, he determined to place a phantom on the throne; while, as lieutenant-general of the crown, and head of the union, he retained the excluſive power in his own hands. The cardinal of Bourbon, whoſe age and incapacities of various kinds did not more diſable him from ſwaying the ſceptre, than his confinement removed him from the ſcene of action, was choſen to repreſent the pageant of royalty. An edict was publiſhed by the parliament of Paris, at the duke's deſire, enjoining obedience to the impriſoned prelate, as the only rightful ſovereign; and exhorting the people throughout all the provinces, to remain firm to the Catholic faith, and to oppoſe, in every ſhape, the progreſs of hereſy [36]. Nothwithſtanding this public recognition of the cardinal's title, he was not ſolemnly proclaimed by the name of Charles the Tenth, for ſome months afterwards.

Procraſtination, and indeciſion.

Recognition of the cardinal of Bourbon's title.

The king, meanwhile, incapable of continuing the ſiege of Paris, with an army ſo reduced in its numbers; and unable to induce the duke of Mayenne to liſten to any terms of accommodation; began to meditate his retreat. Having divided his forces into three ſeparate bodies; and depoſited the remains of his predeceſſor, without other pomp or ceremony than the neceſſity of the times would admit, in

Henry retreats from Paris.

[34] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 415.
[35] Davila, p. 831—833.
[36] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 20, 21. Davila, p. 835—837. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 413.

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the church of Compiegne; he took the road towards Normandy. In that fertile province, of which a great portion was devoted to his cauſe, he hoped to recruit his troops, to augment his adherents, and to receive the ſupplies of men and money, which he expected from Elizabeth, queen of England. Dieppe, a port, capable by its ſituation of greatly facilitating the latter ſuccours, declared in his favor, and admitted him into the place [37]. Elated with this, and other advantages; ſtimulated by the inhabitants of Dieppe; and unoppoſed by any army in the field; he ventured to approach Rouen, where the duke of Aumale commanded, having under him twelve hundred cavalry. Though Henry was not poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength to form the ſiege of ſo conſiderable a city, ſecured by an ample garriſon; yet, the enemy, alarmed at his appearance, and apprehenſive of being inveſted, ſent immediate intimation of their danger to the duke of Mayenne, and loudly invoked his aſſiſtance [38].

He is received into Dieppe.

That general, having provided for the internal ſafety and tranquillity of the capital, was not inattentive to the ſummons; and began his march at the head of about twenty thouſand men, nearly a fourth part of whom were cavalry. As he advanced along the Seine, he retook ſeveral of the towns ſituated upon its banks, which had previouſly fallen into the king's poſſeſſion. Such was his ſuperiority, that, if he had improved the favorable occaſion with celerity, it is probable he might have cruſhed the royal forces, or, compelled them to engage under every circumſtance of diſadvantage. But, the duke having quitted his army for a few days, in order to concert meaſures in perſon with the duke of Parma, commander of the Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands; his abſence, and the neceſſary delay, occaſioned by it, gave Henry a ſhort interval, in which to take meaſures for his defence. Retiring, therefore, from the vicinity of Rouen, towards the ſea-coaſt, he ultimately fixed his camp at Arques, a ſmall, and defenceleſs town, at an inconſiderable diſtance from Dieppe. Conſcious

Duke of Mayenne marches out of Paris.

2d September. The king encamps at Arques.

[37] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 16, 17. [38] Ibid. p. 19. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 417.

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that he muſt be ſpeedily ſurrounded and attacked by the united military force of the enemy; he exerted the utmoſt diligence and ſkill in fortifying the poſition, which was naturally ſtrong, and capable of being maintained againſt ſuperior numbers [39].

His critical ſituation.

It muſt be confeſſed, on the matureſt conſideration, that, although in his ſituation, no ſtep more magnanimous, and at the ſame time, more judicious, could have been embraced by Henry; yet, that hope itſelf ſeemed to be almoſt extinguiſhed by the difficulties and perils, with which he was reduced to ſtruggle. His troops were diminiſhed to only three thouſand foot, two regiments of Swiſs, and about twelve hundred cavalry; compoſing in the whole ſcarcely ſix thouſand, five hundred men [40]. On the other hand, the army of the League, augmented by various bodies of ſoldiers from Lorrain, Flanders, and the ſouthern provinces, exceeded twenty-eight thouſand. All the young nobility, attached to the party of the duke of Mayenne, and apprized that a battle was inevitable, crouded to be preſent at an action, which it was not doubted, would be deciſive of the fate of the war. The two detachments of Henry's forces, commanded by marſhal d'Aumont, and the duke of Longueville, whom he had ſent into Champagne and Picardy, were too remote to arrive in time to his aſſiſtance. Elizabeth had not yet ſent him her promiſed aid, pecuniary, nor military; while the enemy advanced towards him by rapid marches. So confident was their commander of ſucceſs, that he did not heſitate to promiſe Philip the Second, to take the king of Navarre, either dead or alive; and the credulity of the Pariſians, aiding and ſuſtaining their enmity, made them anticipate his defeat and capture as certain [41]. Even in the royal camp, a degree of dejection and terror began to manifeſt itſelf. It was apprehended, that while the duke of Mayenne inveſted Henry in front,

Superiority of the forces of the League.

Terror in the royal camp.

[39] Davila, p. 842, 843. Hiſt. Gen. d'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 219. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 24.

[40] D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 218. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 417.

[41] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 418, 419.

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his retreat towards the ſea might be intercepted by the naval forces of Flanders; and it was agitated in the council of war, whether it might not be adviſeable for the king to embark, while it was yet poſſible, and ſeek an aſylum in the court of England. The remonſtrances of Biron are ſaid to have influenced not a little, in the rejection of ſo puſillanimous and inglorious a propoſition [42].

Attack made by Mayenne.

The army of the League arriving in ſight of the royal lines, began their attack by ſkirmiſhes, in expectation of forcing the entrenchments, or putting the troops into confuſion. But, in theſe attempts, they were conſtantly repulſed with loſs, notwithſtanding their vaſt ſuperiority; and it ſoon became evident, that the troops of Mayenne, in military diſcipline and veteran ſkill, were by no means equal to their opponents. The indefatigable activity, vigilance, and intrepidity of Henry, inſpired his followers with a determination to make the moſt deſperate exertions for the common ſafety; and the panic, diffuſed by the firſt appearance of the enemy, inſenſibly diminiſhed. Aware of this circumſtance, and deſirous of availing himſelf of his numbers, the duke drew out all his forces, and made a furious attack upon the entrenchment. It was, during ſome time, attended with complete ſucceſs. The German auxiliaries in the ſervice of the League, by feigning a deſire to ſurrender, and to enter into the king's employ, obtained an entrance within the lines. But, no ſooner had they formed, than, encouraged by ſeeing the cavalry of Mayenne make a vigorous charge, they reſumed their arms, fell furiouſly upon the diviſion commanded by Biron, and threw the royaliſts into total confuſion. It required all the valor and exertions of Henry, ſeconded by the coolneſs and bravery of his officers, to ſtem the torrent. The king was long abandoned by the greater part of his troops, expoſed to the utmoſt danger, and hopeleſs of extrication. Even after the enemy had been compelled to evacuate the entrenchments, not without a long and obſtinate conteſt; the duke of May-

21ſt September. Combat of Arques.

[42] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 418, 419.

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enne might ſtill have renewed the engagement with freſh troops, againſt the haraſſed and inferior ſoldiers of the royal army. But, his habitual irreſolution prevented him from improving his advantages. He cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and drew off his forces, who were incommoded by the cannon of the caſtle of Arques. His actual loſs did not exceed five hundred men; but, the injury ſuſtained in his reputation, was irretrievable, and gave the royaliſts a decided aſcendant, during the remainder of the war [43]. So forcibly did Henry himſelf feel the overſight, or incapacity of that general; and ſo deſperate was his ſituation, after the entrance of the enemy's troops within his lines; that he did not even conceal his ſenſe of both. On the evening of the day, he publickly declared, that the duke of Mayenne was either not the ſoldier, which the world believed him; or, elſe, that he had treated him with perſonal reſpect, and reſerved him for a better occaſion [44]. It may, indeed, be aſſerted, that the combat of Arques was the criſis of his fate, and the ultimate point of his adverſe fortune. From that period, his affairs began to return in a contrary direction; and he gradually re-aſcended, as the League declined, in a ſimilar proportion. Various accidents and circumſtances, not unmixed with misfortune, perpetuated the duration of the civil wars, and delayed the concluſion of peace: but, the royal party never afterwards was reduced to extremities [45].

Repulſe of the duke of Mayenne.

Conſequences.

Notwith-

[43] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 263—267. Sully, vol. i. p. 69, 70. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 219—221. Davila, p. 844—851. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 27—30.

[44] Davila, p. 851.

[45] A very diffuſe narration of this celebrated combat, is to be found in Davila, in De Thou, and in Cayet's "Chronologie Novennaire." D'Aubigné, likewiſe, and Sully, the latter of whom was preſent in the action, have left us ample information relative to it. The deſcriptions of all general engagements, preſent, uſually, only an indiſtinct picture of carnage: but, the combat of Arques is ſo, in an unuſual degree. It is, indeed, impoſſible to comprehend clearly the nature of it, without a chart of the fortified camp of Henry the Fourth, which occupied two hills, and an intermediate valley, extending from the town of Arques, to the ſuburbs of Dieppe. The action itſelf was a ſcene of more than ordinary confuſion, from the circumſtance of the German Lanſquenets obtaining an entrance within the trenches, and turning their arms againſt the royal troops. That perfidious act had nearly given Mayenne a complete

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5th October.

Retreat of the army of the League.

Notwithſtanding the repulſe which he had recently ſuſtained, the general of the League made another attempt to carry the trenches; but, having been compelled to deſiſt with conſiderable loſs, and conſcious that Henry would ſoon be joined from various quarters; he determined to retreat. His march was directed towards Picardy, with a view of receiving the auxiliary forces, ſent by Philip the Second to his ſupport. Henry, liberated from the ſiege which he had undergone, was, in like manner, ſpeedily reinforced. Marſhal d'Aumont, and the duke of Longueville, arrived firſt; and were

plete victory. Marſhal Biron was unhorſed, and long ſurrounded by them. The enemy poured into the ſpace, and carried terror every where. Henry was, for a conſiderable time, in the moſt imminent peril. Davila ſays, that he diſdained to fly; and that he attempted to rally the ſcattered troops by exhortations and reproaches; exclaiming aloud, that "in all "France there could not be found fifty gen-"tlemen, who had ſufficient courage to die "in company with their king."

Various circumſtances enabled the royal army to recover the honor of the day. The count of Auvergne, natural ſon of Charles the Ninth, made a vigorous charge at the head of the cavalry, killed with his own hand, Sagonne, who commanded the enemy's horſe, and checked their fury. Chatillon, coming up with two regiments of infantry, cried, as he advanced, "Courage, ſire! we are come to "die with you!" Three hundred of the troops of the League were put to the ſword, and the trenches recovered. Yet, all accounts concur in admitting, that if Mayenne had not unneceſſarily retarded the march of the main body, and thereby given the king an interval in which to rally, the day muſt have been his own. In Sully, are to be found ſome moſt picturesque and affecting anecdotes of Henry's conduct, which inſpire the higheſt idea of his valor, compoſure, and clemency. They bear ſo ſtrong a ſtamp of truth and nature, that it is impoſſible to doubt their exactitude. Previous to the beginning of the action, the count de Belin, ſays Sully, was taken priſoner, by one of our parties, in the woods, and brought to the king. It was ſoon after day-break, and we were all ſeated at breakfaſt in a ditch, forming a circle round his majeſty. Henry, with his uſual affability, received and embraced the count; who looking round him, with a degree of ſurprize, acquainted the king, that in two hours, he would have thirty thouſand enemies, horſe and foot, to reſiſt; and that, for his own part, he did not ſee with what forces his Majeſty meant to oppoſe them. "You "do not ſee them all, monſieur de Belin," ſaid the king, ſmiling: "for you do not "reckon God, and the juſtice of my cauſe, "which aſſiſt me."

It can hardly admit of a doubt, that Henry the Fourth would not have ſurvived a defeat, or have been led in chains to Paris. He would, if vanquiſhed, have periſhed on the field of battle. It ſeems impoſſible to ſpeculate on the conſequences which muſt have taken place, if Mayenne had been victorious, and if the king had fallen at Arques. Such ſpeculations, though natural and unavoidable, are not the province of hiſtory. Perhaps, in no portion of modern annals, is the intereſt excited by the events, ſo great; or, the apparent protection and interpoſition of Providence ſo marked and legible; as in the elevation of Henry the Fourth, to the French crown.

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ſucceeded by four thouſand Engliſh troops, together with a ſmall ſupply of money, advanced him by Elizabeth, which the king immediately diſtributed among his ſoldiers. Without loſing an inſtant in inactivity, he followed the enemy; retook the places captured by them; and endeavoured to provoke them to a general engagement. Finding that the duke of Mayenne was not inclined to hazard the iſſue of a battle; and that he continued his progreſs towards the frontier of Flanders, Henry turned ſhort to Paris. The aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants of that metropolis was heightened by their terror, when they ſaw the prince, whom they had only a few days preceding, conſidered as a fugitive, and a priſoner; arriving before the walls, at the head of a numerous, and victorious army. Profiting of their firſt alarm, and of the abſence of their commander, the king cauſed the ſuburbs, which were defended by an entrenchment, to be attacked on every quarter. The enterprize was executed with vigor; attended with complete ſucceſs; and puſhed with ſuch celerity, that the Pariſians had ſcarcely time ſufficient to ſhut their gates againſt the royaliſts. If the cannon had been brought up without loſs of time, nothing could have ſaved the capital from being entered by ſtorm. The carnage was prodigious; and the ranſoms, paid by thoſe who fell into the hands of the conquerors, ſerved to compenſate for the defect of regular pay [46].

The king marches to Paris.

1ſt November. He ſtorms the ſuburbs,

Alarmed at the danger which menaced Paris, the duke of Mayenne inſtantly returned to its relief, and entered it on the day ſubſequent to the capture of the ſuburbs. Henry, whoſe forces were not ſufficient to beſiege him in the place, on receiving the intelligence, withdrew ſlowly to the diſtance of a few miles; and drawing up his army in ſight of the Pariſians, waited to ſee if their leader was diſpoſed to try anew the chance of war. But, the troops of the League

and retires from the city.

[46] D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 223, 224. Davila, p. 856. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 32—34. Sully, vol. i. p. 70. Chron. Noven. vol. i. p. 270, 271. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 426.

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had not recovered their disgrace at Arques; and the king finding that his challenge was not accepted, directed his course to Estampes, of which he made himself master in eight days. Incapable of compelling the enemy to face him in the field, he a second time divided his army into three bodies, and pursued his march towards the Loire; while the duke of Longueville, and Givry, at the head of two considerable detachments, sustained his adherents in Picardy, and in Champagne. Victory attended him, wherever he moved. Vendome, a city of his patrimonial domain, and capable from its strength, of making a long resistance, was entered by the soldiers, after a short and feeble defence[47]. Notwithstanding the advanced season, he continued unremittingly to push his military operations. Having visited the city of Tours, into which he made his entry amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; and having, on account of the distracted condition of the kingdom, postponed his promised convocation of the nobility for the settlement of religion, till the month of March ensuing; he rejoined his troops. Mans fell into his possession, by capitulation; and it was followed by the reduction of various other places. Entering Normandy, in defiance of the rigors of winter, he compelled Alenson to surrender; made the garrison of Falaise, and their commander, the count of Briffac, prisoners; and after an obstinate siege, became master of Honfleur, at the mouth of the Seine. The indefatigable activity of his exertions, and the rapidity of his success, while it increased the confidence of his own forces, impressed his adversaries with amazement and consternation[48].

Exploits of Henry.

He takes several places.

Inactivity of Mayenne.

During these important transactions, the duke of Mayenne, dilatory and inert, either remained inactive at Paris, occupied with regulations of a political nature; or, made only feeble efforts for the recovery of his military character, and the re-establishment of the af-

[47] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 65, 66. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 275, 276.

[48] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 67—69, and p. 80—85. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 296—299, and p. 317, 318.

fairs

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fairs of his party. After a ſpecies of interregnum of near four months, ſubſequent to Henry the Third's deceaſe, that commander, fearful leſt the king of Spain, in conjunction with the Holy See, ſhould attempt to nominate a ſucceſſor to the throne; cauſed the cardinal of Bourbon to be publickly proclaimed, under the title of Charles the Tenth. He did not leſs retain in his own hands the whole executive power of the crown; and his recognition of the impriſoned cardinal produced the effect which he had foreſeen, and which he probably deſired. Henry, apprehenſive that if his uncle ſhould, by any accident, be liberated, the League might derive advantages from his name; redoubled the precautions, for ſecuring him in confinement. He had already been removed to the caſtle of Fontenay in Poitou, where he was guarded with the utmoſt vigilance [49].

21ſt November. Cardinal of Bourbon, proclaimed king.

The internal feuds and animoſities of the League; the number of rival, and almoſt co-equal chiefs; and the oppoſite nature of their views, pretenſions, and expectations; impoſed great, if not inſurmountable obſtacles, to the ſucceſs of their operations. Mendoza, the embaſſador of Philip the Second, who reſided in the capital, diſpenſed the largeſſes of his maſter, with politic attention to the Spaniſh intereſts; and was far from rendering the duke of Mayenne independant of the court of Madrid. The arrival of Gaëtano, the Papal legate, diſpatched by Sixtus, tended to augment, rather than to diminiſh the jealouſy and diſtruſt of that general, by his notorious partiality to the meaſures of Spain. Mayenne did not wait for his preſence, to reject the propoſition of Mendoza, for acknowledging Philip protector of the League; though he warmly demanded ſupplies of men and money for ſupporting the war. The dukes of Nemours and Aumale, as well as the hereditary prince of Lorrain, augmented by their continual diſſenſions, the general confuſion: while, the Pariſians, not leſs ſhaken and divided among themſelves, ſeemed only to

Internal feuds of the League.

[49] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 429, 430. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 284.

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unite in one common ſentiment; the deteſtation of hereſy, and the reſolution to undergo every extremity, rather than to ſubmit to their rightful ſovereign [50].

Reſpect of foreign powers, for Henry.

On the other hand, Henry, by his courage, activity, and ſucceſs, not only attracted the reſpect of his own ſubjects; but, received the moſt flattering teſtimonies of friendſhip and conſideration from foreign powers. The Republic of Venice, conſtantly attached to France as her natural ally, and equally apprehenſive of the augmenting power of Philip the Second; exhibited the warmeſt demonſtrations of general joy, at the intelligence of Henry's acceſſion. The Senate did not even heſitate, or delay, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and menaces of the Papal nuntio, inſtantly to recognize him as king of France, by a public decree [51]. Ferdinand, great duke of Tuſcany, though he had recently contracted a cloſe alliance with the duke of Lorrain, by marrying his daughter; and though he was reſtrained by prudential conſiderations, from venturing on ſo bold a meaſure; yet, did not leſs tranſmit to the new king, aſſurances of his devotion. He even authorized Henry's agent at his court, to promiſe the ſame pecuniary loan, which he had engaged to advance for his predeceſſor; and to open a negociation for the marriage of his niece, the princeſs Mary of Medecis, with one of the princes of the blood of France [52]. Similar teſtimonies of affection and reſpect were conveyed by the duke of Mantua [53]. The Swiſs cantons had already deputed commiſſioners, to felicitate him on his ſucceſſion; to enjoin their troops to remain faithful to his ſervice; and to requeſt a renewal of the antient treaties ſubſiſting between the Helvetic union and Henry the Third [54]. From the Proteſtant princes of the German empire, he was ſecure of effectual ſupport; and Caſimir, who adminiſtered the affairs of the palatinate, demonſtrated his adherence,

Venice.

Tuſcany.

Switzerland.

German princes.

[50] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 284—289. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 430—432.

[51] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 59—63, and p. 67. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 296.

[52] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 63, 64. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 422.

[53] De Thou, ibid.

[54] Ibid. p. 59.

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by giving directions to levy troops without delay, which were conducted to his aſſiſtance by Sancy, early in the enſuing year [55].

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Elizabeth, queen of England, true to her own intereſts and thoſe of her people, furniſhed Henry with a body of forces, ſoon after the action at Arques; and if her ſcanty revenues, added to the various demands on her exchequer, did not admit her to make conſiderable remittances of money, ſhe had, nevertheleſs, accompanied her military aid, with a ſmall pecuniary ſupply [56]. Even James the Sixth, king of Scotland, a prince, whoſe pacific character, and inaptitude for war, ſeemed to diſqualify him for active ſervice in the field; yet, animated by enthuſiaſm for the maintenance of the Proteſtant religion, had, previous to Henry's elevation to the throne of France, offered to conduct ſix thouſand Scots to his aſſiſtance in perſon, and to maintain them at his own expence [57]. He had recently proved the ſincerity of his former profeſſions, by ſending over to Dieppe a body of a thouſand men [58]. Prince Maurice of Naſſau, who commanded the armies of the Republic of Holland, induced the States General, even when ſtruggling themſelves againſt the power of Spain, to aſſiſt the king of France with ammunition and money [59]. The kingdoms of the north were too remote, or, too feeble, to take any part in the troubles of the French monarchy. Denmark was governed by a minor prince, Chriſtian the Fourth; and Sweden, under John the Third, had relapſed into oblivion. In Germany, the reigning branch of the houſe of Auſtria, which had excited ſuch terror under Charles the Fifth; and which, under Ferdinand the Firſt, and Maximilian the Second, continued ſtill to inſpire reſpect; was fallen into complete inſignificance, in the hands of Rodolph the Second. That ſovereign, who, before he aſcended the Imperial throne, had given the moſt promiſing expectations of virtue and capacity, diſappointed the general hopes entertained of his adminiſtration. Diſſo-

England.

Scotland.

Holland.

Imperial houſe of Auſtria.

Rodolph the Second.

[55] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 92—98.
[56] Ibid. p. 32.
[57] Original Letter of Henry the Fourth, in Voltaire, vol. x. p. 239.
[58] Davila, p. 854.
[59] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 240.

lute,

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lute, relaxed, and governed by his miſtreſſes, he abandoned the concerns of the empire, to miniſters deſtitute of ability or reſolution. Indolent, and averſe to buſineſs, he ſuffered every ſpecies of abuſe to be practiſed with impunity in his hereditary dominions. He was deſpiſed in Bohemia, nearly driven out of Hungary, and almoſt forgotten in the empire [60]. Such a prince was ill qualified to ſecond the ambitious projects of the court of Madrid; and he ſeemed to diſplay as little inclination, as he poſſeſſed ability, to co-operate with the Spaniſh branch of his family.

Lorrain.

Henry wanted not, however, powerful foreign enemies to impede his conqueſts, and to retard, if not totally prevent, the reduction of his rebellious ſubjects. The duke of Lorrain, impelled by the chimerical expectation of raiſing his ſon to the throne of France; and connected by a common origin, with the duke of Mayenne; continued to aid him with his forces [61]. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, allied to Philip the Second, whoſe daughter he had married; ſuſtained by Spaniſh troops; and ready to embark in any projects which promiſed augmentation of power, or territory; had already advanced his pretenſions to the crown itſelf. Embarraſſed with a war in which he was engaged againſt the city and Republic of Geneva, he was reluctantly compelled to defer the commencement of his plans, till the enſuing year. It would ſeem that they were limited to the conqueſt, or acquiſition of the two provinces of Dauphiné and Provence, which lay contiguous to his own dominions [62]. Sixtus the Fifth, at the beginning of his pontificate, had manifeſted his enmity to the family of Bourbon, in its utmoſt force. But, his impatience and indignation, at the ſpecies of captivity in which Philip the Second held the holy ſee, and at the tyranny exerciſed by the Spaniſh cardinals, who attempted to fetter, or to direct all his meaſures; in-

Savoy.

Charles Emanuel.

Sixtus the Fifth.

[60] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 218.

[61] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 261, 262.

[62] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 72, 73, and p. 75—79. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 279—281. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 423.

ſpired

ſpired him with other ſentiments. At the preſſing inſtances of the court of Madrid, and of the agents of Mayenne, he had, it is true, diſpatched his legate, Gaetano, into France: but, his inſtructions were, by no means, decidedly hoſtile to Henry the Fourth. On the contrary, they manifeſted a diſpoſition rather to conciliate, than to irritate; and were ſuch as the father and head of the Chriſtian church might dictate, without degrading, or debaſing his character [63].

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Philip the Second.

The united efforts of all the external enemies of the new king, were, however, weak and contemptible, compared with thoſe of Philip the Second. During the reign and life of Henry the Third, he had obſerved ſome degree of diſguiſe, and impoſed ſome reſtraint on his ambitious, or deſtructive projects. The alliance ſubſiſting between the houſes of Valois, and of Auſtria; together with the undoubted attachment of Henry to the Catholic faith, induced the cabinet of Madrid to negotiate in ſecret with the Guiſes, and to avoid an open rupture between the two crowns. But, when the ſceptre devolved to a Hugonot, Philip inſtantly diſdained all further concealment, or meaſures of reſerve. The pretext of hereſy, againſt which, throughout his whole life, he had declared unqualified hoſtility, was too convenient a maſk for veiling his ultimate views, not to avail himſelf of it without delay. He was, beſides, the hereditary enemy of the king of Navarre, whoſe antient and patrimonial dominions he retained, in virtue of the uſurpation of Ferdinand of Arragon. The vacancy of the French throne ſeemed to open to him no diſtant proſpect, either of placing on it his daughter, Clara Iſabella; or, at leaſt, of reducing the monarchy to a ſtate of complete ruin. He had already determined to take an open part in favor of the League; to laviſh his treaſures; and even, if requiſite, to ſend his forces to combat Henry. Yet, rendering his affected zeal and liberality completely ſubſervient to his policy, he attempted to conſtitute himſelf the protector and arbiter of

Meaſures of that monarch.

His ambitious projects.

[63] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 428.

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Mayenne himſelf. Baffled in that deſign, he did not deſiſt from his plans; and contenting himſelf with the title only of an auxiliary, he expected from the effect of time and favorable accidents, the completion of his wiſhes [64].

Grandeur, and magnitude of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The enormous power of ſo great a monarch, appeared to be almoſt irreſiſtible, when joined to the other enemies of Henry the Fourth. Beſides his numerous kingdoms and provinces in Europe, the richeſt portions of Aſia, Africa, and of the New World, belonged to Spain. Portugal, with all her colonies; the diſcoveries made by Gama, and the conqueſts effected by Albuquerque; had fallen into his hands, only a few years preceding. His revenues ſeemed to be as vaſt as his ambition, and as inexhauſtible as his thirſt of dominion. The veteran bands, commanded by the duke of Parma, if united to the forces of the League, muſt, in all probability, cruſh the inferior army of a prince, as yet unſettled in the throne, and incapable of contending with ſo vaſt a diſparity. The repulſe, ſuſtained at Arques, could only be eſteemed a reſpite; and Europe, with anxious ſolicitude, anticipated as neither doubtful, nor remote, the final deſtruction of Henry.

Cauſes and principles of its decline.

But, the Spaniſh greatneſs, which inſpired ſuch terror, was, in a conſiderable degree, exaggerated, if not ideal. Philip had, himſelf, ſapped its foundations, and precipitated its decline. The treaſures of Peru and Mexico, were diſſipated in his expenſive enterprizes, to which the wealth of both the Indies was unequal. His ſubjects perceptibly diminiſhed in numbers; and induſtry ſunk in a ſimilar proportion. The late unfortunate expedition againſt England, had broken his naval ſtrength: the long wars in the Low Countries, though they formed a ſoldiery of unequalled ſkill; yet, drained his exchequer. He could only attack France, by expoſing Flanders; and in venturing on the experiment, he gratified his reſentment, at

[64] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 431. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 285—289.

the

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the expence of his intereſts. He was, beſides, declining in years, and haſtening towards the termination of his long reign. His only ſon was a minor, inexperienced, and of feeble capacity. The veil, which had concealed the weakneſs and diſeaſes of the Spaniſh monarchy from general inſpection, fell with Philip the Second. Under his ſucceſſor, it faintly ſuſtained the attacks made on it, by foreign nations. It was convulſed and ſhaken during the reign of Philip the Fourth; and the efforts of England, Germany, and Holland, could ſcarcely preſerve it from complete ſubverſion, under the languid adminiſtration of the laſt prince of the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria.

1589. State of Spain, towards the cloſe of Philip the Second's reign.

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Battle of Ivry.—Victory of the king.—Conſequences of it.—Henry marches to Paris.—Death of the cardinal of Bourbon.—Siege of Paris.—Famine.—Cauſes which protracted its ſurrender.—March of the duke of Parma into France.—Henry raiſes the ſiege.—Military operations on both ſides.—Return of the duke of Parma into Flanders.—Events in Brittany, and in Provence.—Death of Sixtus the Fifth.—Election of Gregory the Fourteenth.—Attack of St. Denis.—Siege of Chartres.—Intrigues of the young cardinal of Bourbon.—Edict of toleration, in favor of the Proteſtants.—Papal monitories, publiſhed againſt the king.—Situation of the duke of Mayenne.—Hoſtilities.—Eſcape of the duke of Guiſe from Tours.—Death of La Noue.—Enterprizes of the duke of Savoy.—Arrival of the German auxiliaries.—Death of Gregory the Fourteenth.—Tranſactions at Paris.—Violent proceedings of the council of ſixteen.—Their puniſhment.—Act of oblivion publiſhed by the duke of Mayenne.

CHAP. II. 1590.

WHILE the king, with almoſt unexampled celerity, and in defiance of the rigors of winter, at the head of a victorious army, ſubjected nearly the whole tract of country lying between the Seine and the Loire; the duke of Mayenne prepared to take the field. Importuned by the Pariſians, he undertook to open the paſſages, which prevented the entrance of proviſions into the capital; and after reducing the caſtle of Vincennes, and Pontoiſe, he ſat down before Meulan. The town, ſituated upon the Seine, was rendered more important by a fort, conſtructed in an iſland which divides the ſtream. Berengueville, the governor, far from being intimidated by the ſuperiority of the enemy, repulſed them with loſs; and by his deſperate

Siege of Meulan by Mayenne.

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desperate valor, added to his military skill, enabled the king to come in person, to his relief. The army of the League was, at length, compelled to desist from the enterprize; while Henry, satisfied with having frustrated their design, drew off his forces towards Dreux, of which he immediately began the siege [1].

March. The king raises the siege of Dreux.

Meanwhile, the duke of Mayenne, who, in consequence of his pressing solicitations to the duke of Parma, had been joined by a considerable body of infantry and cavalry, commanded by count Egmont; bent his march towards Dreux. The garrison had defended the city with an intrepidity and obstinacy, not inferior to that displayed at Meulan; and Henry, on receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy, withdrew his artillery, and decamped from before the place. In a council of war, convoked for the purpose, it was unanimously resolved to give battle to Mayenne. Many reasons prompted the king to embrace so hazardous a measure, notwithstanding the inferiority of his numbers. It was more analogous to the character of Henry, whose courage and ardor always impelled him to the most decisive and generous resolutions. The valor, loyalty, and experience of the nobility and gentry, who constituted a large proportion of his troops, inspired him with confidence; and he was destitute of the pecuniary resources, indispensible for protracting a campaign, in presence of a superior adversary. Animated by these considerations, he did not hesitate to march towards Mayenne; and as it became requisite, in order to occupy an advantageous position, to turn his back for a short time on the army of the League, his motions were mistaken for an intention of flying, and augmented their eagerness to bring him to a decisive engagement [2].

He determines to give battle to the enemy.

State of Mayenne's army.

This impatience was, notwithstanding, confined to the soldiers, and did not extend to their commander. The duke, aware of the

[1] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 432, 433. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 86-92. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 227.

[2] Davila, p. 891—893. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 435, 436.

advantages

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advantages poſſeſſed by the royaliſts, which more than counterbalanced his ſuperiority of troops, deſired to avoid an action. But, the diſgrace of retiring before a ſmaller army; the importunity of the officers; and the contemptuous reproaches of count Egmont, who threatened to chaſtize the temerity of the enemy with the Flemiſh auxiliaries under his command, overcame his reluctance. In the diſpoſition and order of his forces, the viſcount de Tavannes, from the imperfection of his ſight, committed an error, which was attended with very fatal conſequences. Inſtead of leaving a ſufficient ſpace between the battalions of infantry, for the cavalry to rally and return to the charge, he drew up the foot ſo cloſe, as to impede their own operations, and eventually to produce general confuſion [3].

Diſpoſitions made by Henry.

On the contrary, never were the eminent military endowments of Henry more conſpicuouſly, or ſucceſsfully diſplayed, than at the battle of Ivry. His activity pervaded every part of the camp, and left nothing to the direction of others, which it was poſſible to inſpect in perſon. His heroic contempt of danger and death was tempered by ſteady courage, and regulated by ſentiments of the moſt elevated piety and reſignation to the diſpenſations of Providence. Biron ably ſupported his ſovereign, in all the ſubordinate parts of duty; and the general ardor of the troops gave a happy preſage of victory.

14th March. Battle of Ivry.

At the firſt onſet, the Walloon horſe led by Egmont, broke the royal cavalry oppoſed to them, and produced a temporary diſorder; but, being rudely charged in their rear, they were in turn routed, cut in pieces, and their commander killed. In the center, Henry, oppoſed to the duke of Mayenne, contended for his crown. It is admitted, that the latter was, by no means, wanting to himſelf on this occaſion; and that his defeat was chiefly to be attributed to cauſes, which he could neither obviate, nor ſurmount. The German cavalry, unable to rally behind the battalions, was with difficulty pre-

[3] Davila, p. 897—899. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 119, 120.

vented

vented from totally diſordering the main body; and became, in a great meaſure, uſeleſs. After a ſhort, though obſtinate conflict, the army of the League gave way, and fled in every direction. Mayenne, accompanied with ſcarcely fifty followers, long maintained his ground, and endeavoured to reſtore the battle. But, finding all attempts of that nature vain, he retreated with precipitation over the river Eure, and cauſed the bridge to be broken down, in order to impede purſuit. The Switzers, who formed a conſiderable part of the infantry, and who had not yet engaged; being ſurrounded by the victorious royaliſts, laid down their arms, and were allowed quarter. But, the German horſe, who had contributed ſo much to the defeat; and who, after having been raiſed and levied in the empire, for the king's ſervice, had entered into that of the League; were ſeverely puniſhed for their breach of fidelity. By Henry's order, they were attacked, and put to the ſword. The ſlaughter was very conſiderable, and accompanied with every mark of ſignal victory. Mayenne, not regarding himſelf as ſecure in the town of Mantes, though at a great diſtance from the ſcene of action, withdrew on the following day, to St. Denis [4].

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Defeat of the army of the League.

It is probable, that if the king had improved his advantage with celerity, and advanced, without loſs of time, to Paris; the impreſſion made by his recent ſucceſs, added to the unprepared ſtate of the metropolis, might have enabled him to reduce the Pariſians to ſurrender. He was ſtrenuouſly exhorted to accelerate his march, by ſome of his moſt faithful and experienced captains; nor is it to be doubted, that he felt the expediency of the advice. But, like his antagoniſt, Mayenne, he had many factions in his own camp, and numerous opponents among thoſe who maintained his cauſe. The Catholic lords and gentlemen were not diſpoſed to elevate a Hugonot to the throne, and

Inability of Henry to improve the victory.

[4] Sully, vol. i. p. 72—74. D'Aubigné. vol. iii. p. 228—233. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 124—129. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 436—439. Davila, p. 896—907. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 327—335.

to

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to exterminate the League; though their indignation for the aſſaſſination of Henry the Third, and their reliance on the promiſes of his ſucceſſor to embrace the Romiſh faith, induced them to ſupport his title. Biron was accuſed of not deſiring to terminate a war, which rendered him neceſſary; and d'O, ſuperintendant of the finances, purpoſely refuſed, or withheld the money indiſpenſable for paying the foreign auxiliaries. Fifteen days elapſed, before the royal army was in a condition to proſecute the late victory; and ſo critical a delay was improved by the enemy, who had recovered from their firſt conſternation [5]. It was probably aſſerted with more reaſon, that if the duke of Mayenne had been able to put a ſtrong garriſon into the town of Mantes, he might, in a great meaſure, have deprived Henry of every beneficial conſequence from the ſucceſs of his arms, and incapacitated him from approaching the capital [6].

Cauſes of it.

Dejection of the duke of Mayenne.

That commander, overcome with his emotions of ſhame and concern at his defeat, remained during ſome days at St. Denis, unwilling to meet the reproaches of the Pariſians, or to expoſe himſelf to their reſentment. But, the exhortations of his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Montpenſier; the conſolatory admonition of the Papal legate, who, having arrived in the metropolis, had embraced the intereſts of the League; and the promiſes of Mendoza, the Spaniſh embaſſador, ſoon rouſed him to exertion. As it was evident that Paris would ſpeedily be inveſted, and that, unleſs ſuccoured by a foreign power, it could not ultimately be preſerved from falling into the hands of the king; it was determined to depute the duke of Mayenne in perſon to the court of Bruſſels, to demand aſſiſtance. During his abſence, his maternal brother, the duke of Nemours, was conſtituted governor of the metropolis. The inhabitants themſelves, far from exhibiting any marks of apprehenſion at the late adverſe occurrences; or diſplaying a deſire to deprecate the approaching diſaſter of a ſiege;

Reſolution of the Pariſians.

[5] Sully, vol. i. p. 76, 77. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 343. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 440, 441.

[6] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 440.

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profeſſed a readineſs to undergo every renunciation, and even death itſelf, rather than ſubmit to a heretic, excommunicated by the holy ſee. Encouraged by ſo many proofs of conſtancy and adherence, Mayenne inſtantly ſet out for Flanders; while Nemours, a prince, who, though only in the flower of youth, exhibited the talents and reſources of riper age, loſt not a moment in conſtructing, or repairing the fortifications of Paris. The ſhortneſs of the time, and the meaſures of Henry, precluded him, notwithſtanding, from taking thoſe ſteps for the ſupply of proviſions, without which it appeared to be impoſſible to make a long, or effectual reſiſtance [7].

28th March. Henry approaches the capital.

During theſe tranſactions, the royal army advancing along the Seine, made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the towns and fortreſſes, which command the paſſage of that river, as well as of the Yonne, and the Marne. Henry, deſirous rather to reduce Paris by famine, than to enter it by ſtorm, began by cutting off the only ſources, from which ſubſiſtence could be obtained. Anxious to gain a ſhort interval, and, if poſſible, to obtain a ceſſation of arms, in order to allow time for the duke of Mayenne's return, Gaëtano, the legate, opened a fallacious negotiation with marſhal Biron, for peace. But, the king, aware of the inſidious intention of the chiefs of the League, and regarding the reduction of Paris as neither diſtant nor doubtful, refuſed to ſuſpend the progreſs of his arms. From every part of France, intelligence of the moſt proſperous nature was received. In Auvergne, his adherents gained a ſignal victory over the enemy, at the town of Iſſoire, on the ſame day when he had vanquiſhed the army of Mayenne, at Ivry. Some advantages of inferior conſequence were obtained in other provinces; and on all ſides, his affairs ſeemed to be haſtening to a ſpeedy and fortunate termination [8].

He refuſes to grant a ſuſpenſion of arms.

[7] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 344.

[8] Ibid. p. 345, and p. 347—354. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 439, and p. 441. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 134—142, and p. 149—152.

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Death of the cardinal of Bourbon.

9th May.

The embarraſſments of the duke of Mayenne were further augmented by an event which took place at this period. The cardinal of Bourbon, whoſe name had ſerved hitherto to contain within bounds the various pretenders to the crown, expired at the caſtle of Fontenay, in Poitou, oppreſſed with age and infirmities. Philip the Second, who beheld the throne vacant, and the head of the League reduced, as a ſuppliant, to demand aſſiſtance, in order to ſave himſelf and his party from total ruin; became the arbiter of both, and might dictate the conditions on which he would conſent to march his forces into France. It required the utmoſt addreſs in Mayenne, to protract the deciſion on a point of ſuch delicacy and magnitude, as the election of a ſovereign. As a convocation of the States General was indiſpenſable, he promiſed to aſſemble them without delay; and in the intermediate time he retained, in virtue of his office, the prerogatives attached to the monarchical dignity. The college of the Sorbonne, devoted to the League, and whoſe decrees on matters of conſcience, as well as theology, were regarded with profound veneration by all the adherents of that faction; had not even waited for the cardinal's deceaſe, to anticipate its effects. In a meeting held for the purpoſe, they ſolemnly determined, that in the event of his death, Henry of Bourbon remained equally incapable of ever ſucceeding to the throne, on account of his hereſy and apoſtacy. Thoſe who ſhould adhere to, or favor his cauſe, were ſtigmatized as deſerters of religion, and enemies of God; while the crown of martyrdom was aſſerted to be reſerved for ſuch as oppoſed his pretenſions, and ſacrificed their lives for the holy union [a].

Conſequences of that event.

Decree of the Sorbonne.

Siege of Paris.

Meanwhile, Paris was completely inveſted on every ſide, and began to experience the calamities inſeparable from a ſiege. It may be conſidered as one of the moſt memorable, recorded in hiſtory, and vies, in extent of ſufferings ſuſtained by the beſieged, with any of

[a] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 154—159. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 356—359. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 446, 447.

antiquity.

antiquity. Every circumſtance reſpecting it, ſtrongly characterizes the age, and attracts attention. The inhabitants appear to have exceeded two hundred thouſand, independant of the garriſon; which in cavalry and infantry, compoſed of Germans and Switzers, as well as French, fell ſhort of four thouſand [10]. The ſubſiſtence and proviſions of every nature, were exceedingly inadequate to the wants of ſuch a multitude; and at the moderate allowance of only a pound of bread to each individual, a day, could not laſt above a month [11]. No timely, or judicious precautions, had been adopted, either for expelling the uſeleſs and feeble of both ſexes; or for providing magazines to nouriſh them during the ſiege. Their hopes of ſuccour from the duke of Mayenne; their enmity to the king; and their enthuſiaſm in the ſupport of the Catholic religion, ſupplied the place of all other requiſites. As the ſiege advanced, every ſpecies of ſuſtenance became more ſcarce; and after devouring all the animals found in the place, they recurred to the vileſt, and moſt loathſome aliments. It impreſſes with horror, while it ſtrikingly evinces the inflexible conſtancy of the people; that, at the ſuggeſtion of the Spaniſh embaſſador, recourſe was had to the church-yards, and the aſhes of the dead were diſturbed, to furniſh a noxious ſubſtitute for food. A paſte, compoſed of human bones reduced to powder, and mixed with water, was adminiſtered, to aſſuage the pangs of hunger; but, far from prolonging, it only ſhortened the lives of thoſe who ventured to taſte ſo unnatural and deteſtable a mixture [12]. The graſs which grew in the deſerted ſtreets of the ſuburbs, was voraciouſly devoured by the miſerable wretches, who ſtrove by every means to perpetuate their exiſtence. Theſe baneful, or ineffectual experiments, could not prevent the rapid progreſs of diſeaſe; and more than twelve thouſand perſons periſhed, during the ſiege, either of in-

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State of the capital.

Famine.

Expedients to prevent its progreſs.

[10] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 443.
[11] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 162.
[12] Eſprit de la Ligue, vol. iii. p. 142. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 176, 177. Davila, p. 937, and p. 946. Satyre Menippee, vol. i. p. 418, 419.

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anition, or of the pernicious nouriſhment which they were reduced to adopt [13].

1590.

June. Duke of Mayenne enters France.

After ſome weeks of ſolicitation, the duke of Mayenne having, not without difficulty, obtained a body of Spaniſh and Walloon infantry, from the governor of the Low Countries, re-entered France. Henry, apprized of his march, determined to attack him before he approached the capital. Quitting the camp, at the head of more than two thouſand cavalry, he advanced with ſuch rapidity, that the enemy had ſcarcely time to take refuge under the cannon of the city of Laon in Picardy. The poſition being, however, too ſtrong to be forced; and the duke declining to hazard an action, though ſuperior in numbers; the king returned with the ſame diſpatch, and reſumed his ſtation before Paris. During his abſence, a ſlender ſupply of proviſions had been thrown into it; but, which was inadequate to the preſſing and augmenting exigency of the inhabitants. Every circumſtance appeared to preclude hope, and to prove the impoſſibility of protracting the ſiege, on the part of the Pariſians. The troops, conducted by the duke of Mayenne, were unequal to any vigorous effort for their extrication; and the duke of Parma did not ſeem diſpoſed to quit the Netherlands, where Maurice, prince of Orange, menaced various places, and only waited for his departure, to over-run the provinces along the Maeſe and the Iſſel. On the other hand, the royal army was reinforced from every quarter; the expectation of pillage, and of the certain reduction of the metropolis, alluring adventurers who crouded to the king's ſtandard. St. Denis, and almoſt all the other fortreſſes, or poſts, in the vicinity of Paris, were ſucceſſively taken. The ſuburbs, which being fortified by entrenchments and works, had hitherto reſiſted, were carried in a ſingle night, with facility, and almoſt without reſiſtance. Henry had rejected their propoſals for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, though he of-

9th June. Deſperate condition of Paris.

July.

Capture of the ſuburbs.

[13] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 176, 177.

fered

fered them an honorable capitulation. Alarming ſymptoms of internal confuſion had appeared, which menaced inſurrection, and were not quelled without recourſe to the moſt violent expedients. Only time, vigilance, and perſeverance, ſeemed to be demanded, to compel the Pariſians to implore the clemency of their conqueror [14]. CHAP. II. 1590.

Many cauſes contributed, nevertheleſs, to avert the impending blow, and finally to extricate them from their perilous ſituation. The duke of Nemours exerted not only an invincible courage, but, a vaſt variety of reſources, ſcarcely to have been expected from a prince of his youth and inexperience. The fertile invention, and unconquerable ſpirit of the ducheſs of Montpenſier, fabricated, with unceaſing care, fictitious intelligence of the duke of Parma's approach, and arrival. Every renunciation and hardſhip were ſhared by the Papal legate, and the embaſſador of Philip the Second, Mendoza. While the former diſpenſed pardon and abſolution to the infatuated multitude; and promiſed the crown of martyrdom to ſuch as fell in defence of the faith; the latter diſtributed largeſſes of money, proviſions, and aſſurances of ſpeedy relief [15]. All the arts, by which a furious and bigotted people can be ſtimulated to ſupport famine, were ſucceſsfully practiſed. Their zeal was inflamed by declamations from the pulpit; their imaginations were raiſed by promiſes of divine, or ſupernatural aſſiſtance; and their ſenſes entertained with proceſſions, in which the religious orders marched through the principal ſtreets, groteſquely habited [16]. Auguſt. Cauſes which protracted the ſiege. Arts, uſed to ſuſtain the people.

Powerful as were theſe engines in their effect on the mind, they muſt ſtill have proved unequal to repelling hunger, and retaining the populace in ſubmiſſion; if they had not been aided by external means. Proviſions of many kinds were permitted to enter Paris, during the External aſſiſtance and ſupport.

[14] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 167, 168, and p. 175—178. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 371—376.

[15] Memoires de Villeroy, vol. ii. Diſcours veritable du Siege de Paris, p. 413—522, paſſim.

[16] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 360, 361. Satyre Menip. vol. i. p. 328—330.

courſe

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courſe of the ſiege. Givry, who commanded at Charenton, an important poſt, ſituated at the ſpot, in which the river Marne falls into the Seine; tempted by an offer of five thouſand crowns, and influenced by ſentiments of gallantry towards his miſtreſs, who was ſhut up in the capital; allowed a large convoy of corn and wine to be received into the place [17]. Sentiments of humanity operated ſtrongly on the beſiegers, and induced them to admit, or adminiſter relief to their diſtreſſed and expiring countrymen. Towards the termination of the ſiege, a regular intercourſe ſubſiſted between the inhabitants and the royal troops. Every article of luxury or commerce which Paris contained, was bartered for bread, or wine; and the Pariſians purchaſed of their enemies the means of their eventual preſervation [18]. Even the king himſelf was highly inſtrumental to prolonging the duration of their reſiſtance. The benignity of his nature melted at their ſufferings, and relaxed the ſeverity of his vigilance. Secure, as he imagined, that the duke of Parma would not abandon the Netherlands, to come to the relief of Paris, he truſted, with too much confidence, to the effect of time and famine. He might have accelerated the reduction, by uſing force; but, he pertinaciouſly refuſed to have recourſe to violent methods. If he had entered the city by ſtorm, he dreaded the complete deſtruction of his own capital; and he apprehended the ſevere revenge, which the Hugonots in his army would, probably, have taken for the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. He had a greater intereſt than any other individual, in the conſervation of the metropolis and the inhabitants; nor did he wiſh to take poſſeſſion of it, reduced to a heap of ſmoking ruins, deſolated by a licentious and ungovernable ſoldiery [19].

Benignity of Henry.

Policy of that prince.

In compliance with the reiterated and peremptory injunctions of the court of Madrid, the duke of Parma at length prepared to begin

Duke of Parma prepares to invade France.

[17] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 442, 443.

[18] Sully, vol. i. p. 78. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 234—236.

[19] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 371. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 175, and p. 183. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 462, 463. Memoires de Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 533, 534.

his

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his march towards Paris. That general, who had ſucceeded to Don John of Auſtria in the ſupreme command of the Netherlands, civil and military; had reduced to the obedience of Philip, in the courſe of twelve years, a great portion of thoſe revolted provinces. His reputation for ſkill and capacity in war, exceeded that of any captain of the age, and equalled him with the moſt illuſtrious perſons of antiquity. Covered with glory, and elevated to the ſummit of renown, he did not deſire to commit ſo well-earned and precarious a poſſeſſion, to the caprice of fortune. Averſe to undertake an expedition, which could only be proſecuted at the expence of the Low Countries; he reluctantly quitted the ſcene of his exploits, to plunge into another kingdom, with which he was unacquainted, and the manners of whoſe inhabitants were peculiarly incompatible with thoſe of the Spaniards [20]. His march was conducted on principles of tactics, little known or practiſed in the ſixteenth century. He advanced by fixed and regular ſtages, in cloſe and compact order, always ready for action, and encamping every night, according to the Roman ſyſtem of war. Conſcious that in the perſon of Henry the Fourth, he had an enemy to oppoſe, of equal activity, vigilance, and intrepidity; he proceeded with caution, and could not be induced to accelerate his progreſs, by any entreaties of the duke of Mayenne. Having traverſed all Picardy, unoppoſed, at the head of about twelve thouſand infantry, and more than three thouſand horſe; he arrived on the banks of the Marne, and effected his junction with the army of the League, near the city of Meaux, only twelve leagues from Paris [21].

6th Auguſt. Precautions adopted by that commander.

His junction with Mayenne. 26th Auguſt.

The amazement, excited in the royal camp by this intelligence, was, if poſſible, exceeded by the conſternation which it occaſioned. Henry beheld the object for which he had made ſuch exertions, and at the inſtant when it ſeemed ready to fall into his hands, ſnatched

Conſternation in the royal camp.

[20] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 376. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 464. Davila, p. 931, and p. 944.
[21] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 183, 184. Davila, p. 947—949. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 237.

from

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from him by a foreign interpoſition. It was dangerous, in face of the ableſt commander in Europe, to attempt the proſecution of the ſiege; and the fatal obſtinacy of Francis the Firſt, who perſiſted in beſieging Pavia, under ſimilar circumſtances, was not yet obliterated by the lapſe of more than ſixty years. To renounce, on the other hand, the capture of Paris, whoſe inhabitants, he was well aſſured, could not reſiſt above four days longer, was one of the moſt cruel and mortifying ſacrifices, poſſible to be imagined. After mature deliberation, it became, notwithſtanding, indiſpenſable to embrace the latter painful alternative. The king, yielding, therefore, to neceſſity, broke up his camp, and advanced towards the Spaniards, followed by his forces, which exceeded eighteen thouſand foot, and five thouſand cavalry. His expectation of deciding the conteſt by a general engagement, conſoled him, in ſome meaſure, for his recent diſappointment, and excited univerſal ardor among the royal troops. The two armies came in ſight, at the village of Chelles; but, the duke of Parma, far from exhibiting a diſpoſition to try the event of a battle, inſtantly commanded his ſoldiers to entrench themſelves, and declined the action offered him by Henry. It was in vain that the king attempted to ſhake his reſolution, by ſending a herald to defy the Spaniſh commander. The duke, with phlegmatic compoſure, replied, that "he was not come ſo far, in order to take advice of his enemy, "at what moment he ſhould give battle; that he had entered France, "by command of the Catholic king, his ſovereign, in order to extir-"pate hereſy; and that he would fulfil his commiſſion, by ſuch mea-"ſures, of whatever nature, as appeared to him beſt adapted to the "purpoſe [22]."

30th Auguſt. Siege of Paris, raiſed.

1ſt September.

Duke of Parma declines an action.

His actions correſponded with his aſſertions, and diſplayed his unqueſtionable ſuperiority in the ſcience of war. While, with uncommon dexterity, he contrived to amuſe the king by the appearance of

[22] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 378, 379. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 186—188. Davila, p. 952.

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an immediate engagement, he turned ſhort towards Lagny, a town ſituated on the Marne, in which was a royal garriſon. Having thrown a bridge acroſs the river, he began to batter the wall without intermiſſion; effected a breach, and entered the place by ſtorm, before any effectual ſuccors could be ſent to its aſſiſtance. The capture of ſo important a poſt, compleated the deliverance of Paris, and facilitated the introduction of every ſpecies of proviſions, of which the inhabitants had been deprived during above four months [23]. It was ſcarcely poſſible to undergo a more ſudden and humiliating reverſe, than that occaſioned by the ſucceſsful efforts of the Spaniſh general. No hope remained, either of reducing the metropolis to ſurrender, or of forcing the enemy to hazard a battle. The jealouſies and animoſities among the Catholic and Hugonot officers, which had been ſuſpended, or forgotten, during the ſiege, revived under circumſtances of depreſſion. It became difficult to ſecure the convoys of proviſions, which were continually intercepted by the duke of Nemours, liberated from his late confinement. Scarcity began to be experienced in the royal camp. The troops were diminiſhed by diſeaſes, and broken by fatigue: while the nobility, no longer ſtimulated by the proſpect of honor, or of plunder, could ſcarcely be retained, and demanded permiſſion to retire from the field, in order to recruit their exhauſted ſtrength [24].

1590. He takes Lagny.

State of the royal forces.

Yielding, therefore, with fortitude, to a neceſſity which was unavoidable, the king determined to grant the permiſſion, which it would have been impoſſible to refuſe. Previous to diſbanding his forces, prompted by indignation and deſpair, he made two attempts to ſurprize the metropolis; both of which proved unſucceſsful [25]. No meaſure remained, except to retreat, and to reſerve himſelf for a more

Henry diſbands his army.

[23] Davila, p. 953—957. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 465, 466. Sully, vol. i. p. 78. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 238—240.

[24] Davila, p. 957. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 379. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 466.

[25] Memoires de Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 483—490.

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propitious juncture. After having provided the principal places in the vicinity of Paris, with garriſons; and ſent detachments into various provinces; accompanied by the remaining troops, he marched to Clermont, which he carried by ſtorm. Scarcely eight hundred cavalry, out of ſo flouriſhing and numerous an army, remained for the protection of his own perſon [26].

Operations of the combined generals.

The dukes of Parma, and of Mayenne, no longer fettered in their operations by any enemy in the field, inſtantly broke up their camp, and meditated further acquiſitions. Corbeil, a town, which from its poſition on the Seine above Paris, contributed eminently to incommode and diſtreſs the capital, was inveſted by their joint forces. Though deſtitute either of a conſiderable garriſon, or of the means of making a long defence; yet, the valor of Rigaud, the governor, detained the two confederates near a month under its walls. The mutual diſtruſt and jealouſy of the French and Spaniſh commanders began to appear, and impeded, or weakened their progreſs. Mayenne refuſed to permit Corbeil to be entruſted to the care of foreign ſoldiers; and the duke of Parma, ſatisfied with having fulfilled the principal object of his expedition, by the deliverance of Paris, expreſſed his impatience to return to Flanders. Diſeaſes, the reſult of intemperance; added to the autumnal ſeaſon, and the want of numerous articles requiſite for continuing the campaign, had already diminiſhed his troops. The court of Madrid intended rather to feed, than to terminate the war; and the League was not yet ſufficiently weakened, or humbled, to accept a ſovereign from Philip the Second. The duke of Parma's abſence from the Low Countries, had already been highly injurious to the intereſts of Spain. Beſides the important city of Breda, which Maurice, prince of Orange, had ſurprized, he captured Zutphen, Deventer, and Nimeguen. The Spaniards ſcarcely

Impediments to their progreſs.

[26] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 191, and p. 193. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 467. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 380—381. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 240, 241. Davila, p. 957—561.

retained

retained any places of conſequence to the north of the Rhine and the Maeſe [27].

1590.

Retreat of Parma into Flanders.

Impelled by theſe weighty conſiderations, Farneſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his ally, prepared to reviſit the Netherlands; and having opened a ſecret negociation with the governor of Chateau Thierry, a place of conſequence on the Marne, he bent his courſe through Champagne. Henry, whoſe vigilance never ſlumbered, immediately put himſelf in motion, at the head of near eight hundred cavalry. After providing againſt any act of treachery, by ſending La Noue, one of his moſt able and faithful commanders, to take charge of Chateau Thierry; he loſt not a moment in endeavoring to harraſs and impede the duke of Parma's return. Aided by the baron of Biron, ſon to the marſhal of that name, whoſe crimes rendered him too celebrated at a ſubſequent period of Henry's reign; he hung on the flanks of the Spaniſh army, cut to pieces ſome ſtragling troops, and repeatedly attempted to ſurprize, or to put to the ſword a part of the rear, which was moſt expoſed [28]. But, ſuch was the diſcipline and admirable order, obſerved by the retiring forces; and ſo ſuperior was the military ſcience of their general, that no advantage of conſequence was gained by the king. Near eight thouſand auxiliaries were left by the duke of Parma, to ſuſtain the party of the League; and funds were provided for preventing the extinction of the cauſe. Before the Spaniards quitted France, they had the mortification to ſee Lagny and Corbeil, the only towns which they had reduced, retaken by Givry, almoſt without reſiſtance. Corbie, a poſt of importance on the Somme, and not far removed from the frontiers of Artois, was ſurprized by Humieres, one of the royal commanders; and Henry, returning from his pur-

4th November.

Followed by the king.

29th November.

Surprize of Corbie.

[27] Davila, p. 962—965. D'Aub. vol. iii. p. 241, 242. De Thou, vol. xi. p 196—198. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 382, and p. 386.

[28] Memoires de Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 528—530.

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ſuit of the enemy, entered St. Quintin, in triumph [29]. A ſhort period of repoſe and inaction, mutually ſucceeded to the events of ſo crouded and intereſting a campaign.

State of France.

While Henry thus experienced, in their utmoſt force, the rapid viciſſitudes of fortune, the kingdom was agitated and deſolated by the adherents of the two parties. Matignon, who was ſteadily attached to the intereſts of the crown, retained in ſubmiſſion the province of Guienne, and Bourdeaux, the capital. Languedoc enjoyed a degree of tranquillity, under Montmorency: but, in Brittany, the turbulent ambition of the duke of Mercœur, a prince of the houſe of Lorrain, brother to the queen-dowager, Louiſa of Vaudemont, plunged that part of France into confuſion. Deſirous of erecting the duchy of Brittany into an independent ſovereignty; and unable by his own force, or that of the League, to atchieve ſo arduous a work, he called in the aſſiſtance of foreigners. Philip the Second, always ready to aid the efforts of rebellion, in order ultimately to reduce France to implore his interpoſition and protection; diſpatched John d'Aquila, with four thouſand ſoldiers, who, landing at the port of Blavet, were joined by Mercœur. The junction of ſo conſiderable a body, gave him a temporary ſuperiority over the royal troops, and enabled him to obtain ſome important advantages [30].

Spaniards ſent into Brittany. October.

Progreſs of the duke of Savoy, in Provence.

At the other extremity of the kingdom, Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, aided by the ſame monarch, who furniſhed him with gallies, and permitted him to levy forces in the Milaneſe, invaded Provence. La Valette, who commanded the royaliſts, ſupported by Leſdiguieres at the head of the Proteſtants from Dauphiné, encountered the Savoyards, and repulſed, or defeated them on various occaſions. But, the duke, availing himſelf of the diviſions ſubſiſting in the province, and poſſeſſed of the means of corruption, did not leſs

[29] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 388, 389. Sully, vol. i. p. 79. Davila, p. 967—969. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 204—206.

[30] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 206—214. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 402. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 469.

ſucceed

ſucceed in a material part of his object. A deputation from the parliament and inhabitants of Aix, having invited him to repair to that capital, he obeyed the ſummons with alacrity. His reception was accompanied with every teſtimony of general joy; and he was ſolemnly recognized as protector and governor-general of Provence, under the crown of France [30]. His irreſolution, added to his want of ſufficient force, prevented him, notwithſtanding, from profiting of the affection of the inhabitants of Marſeilles, and from poſſeſſing himſelf of that flouriſhing and commercial city.

1590. 14th November.

The death of Sixtus the Fifth, which took place nearly at the period when the king was neceſſitated to raiſe the ſiege of Paris, was an event highly injurious to the royal cauſe. Neither terrified by the menaces of the Spaniſh embaſſador at the court of Rome, nor mollified by the entreaties of the duke of Mayenne; Sixtus ſhewed a diſpoſition to favor Henry the Fourth. His diſcernment and the elevation of his mind enabled him to perceive, and induced him to admire, the great qualities of that monarch. He had conceived an impreſſion equally diſadvantageous of the chief of the League; and his avarice rendered him averſe to diſſipating, or diminiſhing the treaſures, which he had depoſited in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Induced by theſe motives, he gave the moſt unequivocal demonſtrations of regard to the king; admitted to an audience, the duke of Luxembourg, as deputy from the Catholic nobility; and enjoined the legate to adopt conciliatory meaſures, for reconciling Henry to the Romiſh church [31].

Death of Sixtus the Fifth. 27th Auguſt.

His diſinclination to the League.

His deceaſe was productive of a total change in the conduct of the holy ſee. After the ſhort pontificate of Urban the Seventh, which laſted only a few days; Sfondrati, a native of the duchy of Milan, and a ſubject of the Catholic king, was raiſed to the pontifical dignity.

5th December.

[30] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 216—223. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 400, 401. Vie de Leſdiguieres, folio, a Paris, 1638, p. 97—112.

[31] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 99—103, and p. 262. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 395, 396.

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1590. Conduct of Gregory the Fourteenth.

nity. He assumed the name of Gregory the Fourteenth. Destitute either of the talents, firmness, or independence of Sixtus, the new pope suffered himself to be made the tame and passive instrument of the Spanish ambition. He gave immediate directions for levying a considerable body of troops, to be sent to the assistance of Mayenne; and destined the treasures of his predecessor, for their maintenance and support [32].

Interesting nature of the events of the civil war, to this period.

It may be confidently asserted, that the transactions which took place in France, between the death of Henry the Third, and the termination of the year 1590, are more striking, crouded, and picturesque, than those contained within any similar period, in the modern history of Europe. The retreat of the new king into Normandy, pursued by the duke of Mayenne: his critical, and almost hopeless condition, before the combat of Arques: the fortunate issue of the contest on that occasion: Henry's re-appearance before Paris, at the head of a victorious army: the rapidity of his motions and conquests: the battle of Ivry: the siege of the capital; and its unexpected deliverance by a foreign interposition, at the moment when its capture appeared to be imminent and inevitable: these events are in themselves, of such magnitude, and follow in such quick succession, as powerfully to arrest and fix attention. The remainder of the civil wars under Henry the Fourth, though from a variety of causes and accidents, they were protracted to a very considerable length; yet, are comparatively tame and insipid. Instructed by two defeats, the duke of Mayenne never ventured on a third experiment, and avoided with care, a decisive engagement. The duke of Parma, already elevated to the pinnacle of military fame, and only desirous to fulfil the injunctions of Philip the Second, by sustaining the League; had no temptation to commit to the chance of arms, the reputation acquired by a life of successful exertion. Henry, though he made various

[32] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 274—287.

attempts

attempts to become maſter of Paris by ſtratagem, or by negotiation, was never again able formally to inveſt and beſiege the metropolis. A degree of mutual languor and debility, the natural conſequence of ſuch violent efforts, began to manifeſt itſelf. Pecuniary reſources were wanting; and even men were no longer to be procured without difficulty. The armies of the League were principally compoſed of Spaniards, and Italians, maintained from the pontifical treaſury, or by the Catholic king. Henry the Fourth continued to derive contributions, and to recruit his forces from England, Holland, and the Proteſtant princes of the German empire: while Switzerland ſold her ſtipendiaries to the two parties.

1590.

The Pariſians were not long tranquil, after the retreat of the duke of Parma; and, rendered enterprizing by their late deliverance, they undertook to ſurprize the town of St. Denis, which from its vicinity to the metropolis, greatly incommoded the inhabitants. A body of infantry, ſupported by a ſmall number of horſe, and favored by the rigor of the ſeaſon, which rendered the moat paſſable, ventured to approach the walls. They were conducted by the chevalier d'Aumale, a prince of the houſe of Lorrain, whoſe ardent and fearleſs character was peculiarly adapted to that ſpecies of hoſtility. The darkneſs of the night aiding the aſſailants, they entered the town without reſiſtance; and were already maſters of it, when the governor, animated rather by deſpair, and deſirous not to ſurvive the loſs of the place, than hopeful to repulſe the enemy, ſallied out, and attacked them. He had with him only ſeven gentlemen, mounted, like himſelf, on horſeback; but, the obſcurity and confuſion magnifying his force, the enemy was diſconcerted. While the chevalier d'Aumale endeavoured to rally his troops, he received a mortal wound in the throat; and his followers, no longer knowing whom to obey, fled with precipitation. St. Denis was recovered with the ſame rapidity that it had been taken, and ſecured againſt ſimilar attempts [33].

1591. Attempt upon St. Denis.

2d January.

Death of the chevalier d'Aumale.

[33] Davila, p. 987, 988. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 405, 406. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 337—339.

The

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The king, on the other hand, was not more ſucceſsful in an enterprize, the object of which was to ſurprize Paris. Having afterwards aſſembled his forces, he joined marſhal Biron under the walls of Chartres, of which he commenced the ſiege. The valor of the garriſon; the ardor of the inhabitants, whoſe bigotry inflamed their animoſity; and the ſtrength of the city itſelf, produced ſo long and obſtinate a reſiſtance, that Henry was repeatedly on the point of deſiſting from the enterprize. It was, nevertheleſs, ultimately crowned with ſucceſs; the duke of Mayenne not judging it ſafe to hazard a battle for its preſervation. In order to retrieve the diſgrace, and to recover the luſtre of his arms, he ſat down before Chateau Thierry on the Marne; which ſpeedily capitulated, rather by the treachery of the governor, than by the inability of the place. The war, notwithſtanding, languiſhed; while each party, in expectation of ſpeedy foreign aſſiſtance, ſuſpended any great exertion, and even recommenced an illuſory negotiation for peace [34].

11th February. Siege of Chartres.

18th April. Capture of that city.

Diſcontent in the royal army.

Notwithſtanding the felicity which had hitherto almoſt uniformly accompanied the arms of Henry; and the many great endowments, as well as virtues, diſplayed in his public conduct; diſcontent pervaded the royal camp, and menaced the moſt ſerious misfortunes. He had not yet accompliſhed his ſolemn aſſurance, given at his elevation to the throne, of cauſing himſelf to be inſtructed in the Catholic doctrines: a promiſe, which more than any other motive, had induced the nobility to recognize, and to ſupport his title. He had, indeed, ſcrupulouſly maintained the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, excluded the Hugonots from employment, and conducted himſelf with equal moderation and wiſdom, in his management of the two parties. But, in an age ſo bigotted, his unequivocal renunciation of the Proteſtant, and reſumption of the Romiſh religion, alone could confirm the crown on his head, and allay the ſcruples of the nation. Am-

[34] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 476—478. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 346, 347, and p. 352—355. Davila, p. 997—1003.

bition, under the maſk of zeal, might avail itſelf of his delay, and produce new convulſions. Henry was even threatened with a competitor, among the individuals of his own family, in the perſon of the young cardinal of Bourbon. He was the ſecond of the three ſons of Louis, prince of Condé: but, as his elder brother, the prince of Conti, laboured under various intellectual and bodily infirmities, which, it was believed, would incapacitate him for perpetuating his line; the cardinal aſpired to occupy the place, left vacant by the death of his uncle, the late cardinal of Bourbon. Animated by ſo flattering an expectation, he began to form a cabal, compoſed of the moſt ardent, or diſcontented Catholics; and deſirous to engage in his intereſts the Papal court, he ſecretly diſpatched an emiſſary to Rome, to lay his claims before Gregory the Fourteenth. The intrigue was not, however, long concealed: Henry received intimation of it from ſeveral quarters. As it might, nevertheleſs, be dangerous to puniſh the offence, in a perſon ſo nearly allied to him, he contented himſelf with ſummoning the cardinal to attend him at Mantes; to which city he had removed the council of ſtate. The king's preſence, and his vigilance ſuppreſſed, if they did not extinguiſh, the project; but, the very exiſtence of ſuch a deſign ſufficiently proved the dangers, annexed to his adherence to the Hugonot religion [31].

1591.

Intrigues of the young cardinal of Bourbon

Repreſſed by the king's vigilance.

When we conſider the enlargement of Henry's mind, and the perſpicuity of his judgment, we cannot reaſonably doubt, that he had fully appreciated the delicate ſituation in which he ſtood; and that he had long foreſeen the neceſſity of ultimately ſacrificing his profeſſion of faith, to the intereſts of the ſtate. He was deſtitute of bigotry, though ſincere in his adherence to the tenets of the reformers; and he was probably withheld from abjuring them, more by motives of honor, decorum, and prudence, than by ſcruples of a conſcientious nature. Some of the moſt virtuous, diſintereſted, and

Neceſſity of Henry's abjuration.

[31] Davila, p. 1005—1008. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 349—352, and p. 363. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 477, 478.

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upright of the Hugonots themſelves, had not heſitated to admit, and to avow the neceſſity of his adopting the religion of the people, over whom he was deſtined to reign [36]. But, however clear the propriety of ſuch a ſtep appeared, many and weighty reaſons dictated to poſtpone its accompliſhment to a more favorable juncture. He was in want equally of troops, and of reſources for their ſupport, at a moment when the League was about to receive ample ſupplies of both. The viſcount of Turenne had, it is true, levied in the dominions of the Proteſtant princes of the empire, a body of ten thouſand infantry, and above five thouſand cavalry, which were prepearing to advance to his aid [37]. But, they had peremptorily refuſed to begin their march, before they ſhould have received payment of three hundred thouſand ducats; and the king relied on Elizabeth, queen of England, to furniſh him with ſo conſiderable a ſum [38]. That princeſs, it was inconteſtible, would inſtantly withhold her aſſiſtance, and renounce his alliance, if he embraced the Catholic religion. Nor could he hope, by ſuch a meaſure, to diſarm the League, whoſe leaders, corrupted by the gold of Spain, implacable in their animoſity, and regarding even his abjuration of hereſy as incomplete, or nugatory, till he ſhould have been abſolved by the pope, from his ſtate of excommunication; would never conſent to recognize him as their rightful ſovereign.

Reaſons for its delay.

His poſition, with reſpect to the Proteſtant powers.

Far from judging the time proper for his aſſumption of the Romiſh faith and worſhip, the king ventured on a meaſure, calculated to give ſecurity and protection to his Hugonot ſubjects. They had participated in his adverſe fortune; but, hitherto, had derived ſcarcely any advantages from his elevation to the crown. The toleration of their religion, was only a perpetual infraction of the laws; and even their perſonal ſafety demanded ſome interpoſition, to ſecure them from violence. Moved by theſe conſiderations, Henry, in a

Edict, iſſued in favour of the Hugonots.

[36] Davila, p. 1009. [37] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 438. [38] Davila, p. 1023, 1024.

convo-

convocation of the princes, nobility, and eccleſiaſtics, held at Mantes, proposed to reſcind the ſevere and perſecuting edicts, extorted by the heads of the League from his predeceſſor; and to renew that of Poitiers, iſſued by Henry the Third in the year 1577. He expatiated with eloquence and energy, on the beneficial conſequences which had reſulted from the promulgation of ſo mild and tolerant an edict, which the late king had not conſented to violate, without the utmoſt repugnance. The cardinal of Bourbon alone, of all the prelates aſſembled, and preſent at the king's addreſs, ventured, not without marks of irreſolution and heſitation, to oppoſe the meaſure. But, his feeble and unſupported voice was ineffectual to ſuſpend a determination, the utility, as well as beneficence of which, were generally recognized. In order to obtain the conſent of the parliament of Tours, and to induce that aſſembly to regiſter the edict, it was declared to be only temporary and proviſional, till the religious differences could be finally terminated, in a meeting of the three orders, when the kingdom ſhould be reſtored to peace and ſubmiſſion [39].

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1591. July.

Ineffectual oppoſition of the cardinal of Bourbon.

Deſirous, while he thus extended protection to the Hugonots, to tranquillize the minds of his Catholic ſubjects, he iſſued a ſecond edict, or declaration, by which he not only confirmed the antient religion; but, renewed the promiſe made on his acceſſion, of cauſing himſelf to be inſtructed, preparatory to his converſion. He was, notwithſtanding, more indebted to the injudicious violence of his enemies, than to the attachment or ſubmiſſion of his own followers, for the obedience and affection exhibited towards his perſon. The new pontiff, Gregory the Fourteenth, adopting with ſervile deference, the enmities and intereſts of Philip the Second, had already renewed the eccleſiaſtical cenſures and excommunication, iſſued by

Second edict of Henry, for the protection of the Catholic religion.

[39] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 366—369. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 447, 448. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 483.

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1591. Imprudent conduct of the Papal nuntio.

Sixtus, againſt Henry, ſome years preceding. His nuntio, Landriano, whom he had diſpatched to France; in contradiction to the advice of the duke of Mayenne, and the opinions of the moſt moderate men of that faction, publiſhed on his arrival, two monitories, calculated to excite univerſal indignation. They were conceived in language the moſt violent and indecent, as well as arrogant and preſumptuous. All the prelates and eccleſiaſtics who adhered to the royal party, were enjoined, within fifteen days, to quit the country which acknowledged Henry, on pain of immediate privation of their preferments and benefices. The nobility, magiſtrates, and people, were, in like manner, exhorted to abandon Henry of Bourbon, as excommunicated, relapſed, and incapable of wearing the crown [40].

Its effects.

So injudicious an abuſe of the pontifical power, inſtead of producing the effect intended, proved highly beneficial to the king's affairs. No deference nor obedience were paid to mandates, equally unjuſt, and diſgraceful to the holy ſee. The liberties of the Gallican church were firmly maintained, and vigorouſly aſſerted by the clergy, aſſembled at Mantes. It was even propoſed to elect a patriarch, or to convoke a national council, in order to provide a remedy for the diſorders cauſed by the Papal interdict. The parliaments of Tours, and of Chalons, attached to the crown, and juſtly incenſed at an act ſubverſive of the fundamental rights of the monarchy, expreſſed their indignation by ſtill more energetic proceedings. They declared the monitories ſeditious and impious; commanded them to be lacerated and burnt by the common executioner; and ordered the nuntio, Landriano, to be apprehended, and brought to their bar, as a criminal. Gregory the Fourteenth himſelf was not ſpared, in the decree publiſhed on the occaſion. He was treated as an enemy of the repoſe of the church, a partizan of Spain, and an accomplice in the deteſtable aſſaſſination of Henry the Third. It muſt be owned,

Spirited conduct of the parliaments.

[40] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 361. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 449, 450. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 479, 480.

that

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that ſo patriotic and generous a conduct ſeemed to breathe the ſpirit of an enlightened, and leſs ſuperſtitious age [41].

1591.

If the court and camp of the king were agitated by factions, and rendered the ſcene of political intrigue, the duke of Mayenne could neither boaſt of greater tranquillity, nor ſecurity. Elevated rather by a ſeries of accidents, than by pre-eminent merit, to the dangerous poſt of chief of the League; he beheld himſelf ſurrounded by precipices; undermined by ſecret cabals, and attacked by open enmity. His uterine brother, the duke of Nemours, elated with the ſucceſs which had attended his defence of the capital, and idolized by the Pariſians, demanded the government of Normandy. He met with a refuſal; and had retired, in diſguſt, to Lyons, of which city he was governor, and where he attempted to erect an independant principality [42]. The ducheſs of Guiſe, widow of Henry, who had been aſſaſſinated at Blois, complained that no meaſures were taken, nor diſpoſition manifeſted, to procure the deliverance of her ſon, the young duke, who languiſhed in confinement at Tours [43]. In Brittany, the duke of Mercœur ſeemed to renounce all dependance on the party, and to have no other object in view, except to revive in his own perſon the ſovereignty of the antient dukes of that province. The duke of Lorrain beheld with jealouſy and concern, the elevation of a collateral and remote branch of his houſe, to ſo high and enviable a ſuperiority. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, aided by his father-in-law, the Catholic king, was already in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of Provence, and diſdained even the forms of deference to the chief of the League [44].

Embarraſſments of the duke of Mayenne.

The aſpect of Paris was by no means calculated to afford him conſolation for theſe multiplied embarraſſments. The inhabitants, im-

State of Paris.

[41] Davila, p. 1013, 1014. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 370—372. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 481, 482, and p. 484.

[42] Davila, p. 983, 984.

[43] Ibid. p. 984, 985.

[44] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 356, 357. Davila, p. 983.

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Council of sixteen. Their authority and proceedings.

poveriſhed by civil war, and oppreſſed by ſevere exactions for its ſupport; complained of ſuch rigorous demands, and accuſed the executive government of profuſion, negligence, and peculation. Above all, the council of ſixteen, ſo denominated from the ſixteen wards, or quarters, into which the capital was divided; gave alarming tokens of alienation, and even of a deſire to arrogate to themſelves the ſupreme civil and municipal authority. They had been highly inſtrumental to the revolt of the metropolis in the late reign, and to the grandeur of the duke of Guiſe. But, conſcious of the magnitude of their ſervices, they affected independance on his brother; and, corrupted by Spaniſh gold, they ſhewed a deſire to confer the crown itſelf on Philip, their benefactor [45]. Mendoza, and Ibarra, the two embaſſadors of Spain, fomented the miſintelligence, excited continual diſſenſions or impediments to the duke, and withheld the pecuniary ſupplies, indiſpenſible for ſuſtaining the public cauſe. It was in vain, that, with a view to ſurmount their oppoſition, he had diſpatched the preſident Jeannin to Madrid, in the expectation of obtaining from Philip himſelf a modification of the reſtraints, impoſed on the payment of remittances for the ſupport of the troops. That monarch, though he received the duke's agent with politeneſs, admitted him repeatedly to an audience, and treated him with complacency; yet, remained inflexible as to the points demanded. He even expreſſed diſſatisfaction, at the enormous amount of the ſums already advanced to aid the cauſe of rebellion, for which he had as yet received no compenſation; and unveiled his expectation of placing the crown on the head of his daughter, the infanta, Clara Iſabella [46].

Ineffectual efforts of Mayenne, to emancipate himſelf.

Military operations.

Hoſtilities, which had been in ſome meaſure ſuſpended by mutual weakneſs, began anew in the northern provinces. Henry's aſcendant was manifeſt in every enterprize; and he maintained his accuſtomed

[45] De Thou, vol. xi. p 438. [46] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 478, 479. Davila, p. 986.

ſuperiority

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ſuperiority over his more inactive, or more cautious adverſary. The duke of Mayenne was unſucceſsful in an attempt to ſurprize the town of Mantes; which had no other effect, than to induce the king to remove the council of ſtate to Chartres: a city, which, from its magnitude and ſtrength, as well as its remote ſituation from Paris, was far better adapted for the ſeat of ſo dignified an aſſembly. Henry, on the other hand, after making himſelf maſter of Louviers in Normandy, ſat down before Noyon; a place of importance, near the frontier of Picardy. Mayenne, though loudly invoked to come to their aſſiſtance by the garriſon, which made a vigorous defence; and though much ſuperior in ſtrength to the royal army; did not venture on an action, for its relief. He had even the aggravated mortification of being a paſſive ſpectator of its ſurrender, and of being inſulted in his camp by the king, who repeatedly offered him battle. Noyon, hopeleſs of ſuccour, and in expectation of being carried by ſtorm, capitulated on honorable conditions [47].

Siege of Noyon.

19th Auguſt.

The embarraſſments of the chief of the League were ſtill further augmented at this period, by a new and unexpected event. His nephew, the young duke of Guiſe, having artfully deceived his guards, effected his eſcape with equal boldneſs and ſucceſs, at noon day, from the caſtle of Tours, in which, ſince his father's aſſaſſination, he had been detained a priſoner. It ſeems difficult to judge, whether the concern, expreſſed by Henry, at the intelligence, was feigned, or real. If his firſt emotions of ſorrow and apprehenſion were natural, at the liberation of a prince, whoſe name alone impreſſed terror, and round whom all the zealous or diſaffected Catholics would probably aſſemble; thoſe fears were conſiderably diminiſhed, or diſſipated, by his ſubſequent reflexions. He foreſaw, that a dangerous, and troubleſome rival to the duke of Mayenne, muſt

Eſcape of the duke of Guiſe from Tours,

15th Auguſt.

Conſequences of that event.

[47] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 460—464. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 246. Davila, p. 1019—1023. Sully, vol. i. p. 81—84.

neceſſarily

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neceſſarily ariſe in his nephew; and that his deliverance, far from eventually adding ſtrength to the League, already compoſed of heterogeneous and diſcordant materials, would tend to accelerate its diſſolution. The event fully juſtified his conjecture; though the duke of Mayenne, with decent diſſimulation, diſpatched one of his friends to expreſs to the young prince, the ſatisfaction which he felt, on ſo happy and fortunate a termination of his captivity. He accompanied the meſſage with a ſupply of money, and a requeſt that they might ſpeedily meet, in order to confer on their common intereſts [43].

Operations and ravages in the provinces.

If the provinces in the vicinity of Paris were the principal theatre of the war, ſcarcely any part of the kingdom was totally free from its deſtructive ravages. The obſcure depredations, and deſultory incurſions of the two parties, though they involved the inferior orders of the people, and peculiarly the peaſants, in ruin; were yet, for the greater part, neither deſerving of hiſtorical commemoration, nor ſufficiently deciſive, to operate materially on the final event of the conteſt. In Brittany, where the Spaniſh forces under the duke of Mercœur, were counterbalanced by three thouſand Engliſh auxiliaries, whom Elizabeth had diſpatched to reinforce the royal army; no important advantage was obtained on either ſide. But, the campaign was too fatally diſtinguiſhed by the death of La Noue. That commander, whom Henry had recently ſent to guide the inexperience, and temper the ardor of the prince of Dombes; was wounded in the head, while reconnoitring the breach of the town of Lamballe. He expired a few days afterwards, at the age of ſixty. In military capacity, mature experience, and talents for war, France produced no general of ſuperior reputation, during the civil diſſenſions by which it was ſo long agitated. A greater degree of good fortune

Brittany.

4th Auguſt. Death of La Noue.

[43] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 465—467. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 380—383. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 490, 491. Davila, p. 1029, 1030.

was

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was alone wanting, to compleat his fame. He was covered with wounds, received in a variety of combats; and he languiſhed ſeveral years in a ſevere confinement, by order of Philip the Second, who was not induced to releaſe him, without the utmoſt difficulty and repugnance. That monarch gave, himſelf, the moſt honorable and flattering teſtimony to the high merit of La Noue, by exacting from him, previous to his liberation, an oath never to bear arms againſt Spain. The dukes of Lorrain, and of Guiſe, did not heſitate, though his enemies, to become ſecurity for the performance of his engagement [49]. But, his military endowments, however eminent, conſtituted his ſmalleſt claim to reſpect and admiration. The ſimplicity of his manners, the incorruptibility and integrity of his deportment, his loyalty, and contempt of private intereſt, when oppoſed to the public benefit; theſe qualities, little cultivated in a ferocious and bigotted age, equal him with the illuſtrious names of antiquity. Zealouſly attached to the Proteſtant faith during a long life, he was free from contraction, or illiberality; and he did not heſitate to avow to Henry himſelf, that his renunciation of the reformed religion was indiſpenſable, if he ever hoped to eſtabliſh his title to the throne, and to reign in tranquillity over the French nation [50]. The king paid the public tribute of tears to his memory [51].

His character.

The ambition of the duke of Savoy rendered Provence a ſcene of more than ordinary confuſion; and it was long doubtful, whether the whole of that maritime province would not be ſubjected by his arms, or gained by his intrigues. His activity, valor, and munificence, acquired him numerous adherents: he was ſupported by Spaniſh troops, gallies, and money; nor was he deficient in all the qualities calculated to inſpire affection, and to captivate the multitude. But, his forces were deſtitute of military diſcipline, and com-

Progreſs of the duke of Savoy, in Provence.

[49] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 468.
[50] Davila, p. 1009.
[51] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 398. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 492, 493.

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manded by leaders unſkilful, or incapable. The courage and ability of La Valette, and the ſteady valor of Leſdiguieres, who conducted the royal affairs and armies, rendered all his exertions finally ineffectual. The defection, and private ambition of a citizen of Marſeilles, whom the duke, during a voyage which he made to Barcelona, had entruſted to diſtribute money to the inhabitants; deprived him of that commercial and important place. Marſeilles, governed by two aſpiring and turbulent individuals, who aſſumed the name of Duumvirs, refuſed to admit Charles Emanuel, and maintained its independance for ſeveral years. The Savoyard generals were completely routed by Leſdiguieres; and the ſoldiers who eſcaped, were either reduced to ſurrender priſoners of war, or to take refuge among the ſnows and precipices of the Alps. Almoſt all the towns, which had voluntarily ſubmitted on his firſt arrival, deſerted him in the decline of his fortune, and returned to their allegiance. Theſe adverſe events were, notwithſtanding, inſufficient to induce the duke to abandon his deſign; and he continued to make new, though ineffectual efforts, for the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs [32].

18th September. He is defeated by Leſdiguieres.

Meanwhile, the king, after the capture of Noyon, directed his march towards the frontiers of Lorrain, with a view to meet and conduct the German troops, arrived to his aſſiſtance. He was accompanied by near a thouſand cavalry, and he immediately reviewed the auxiliaries, who amounted to ſixteen thouſand horſe and foot, in the plains of Vandy. The ſucceſsful exertions of the viſcount Turenne, in levying, and bringing to his aid, ſo important a ſuccour, were repaid by Henry with the hand of Charlotte de la Mark, heireſs of the houſe of Bouillon, and ſovereign princeſs of the city of Sedan and its territory. Having refreſhed his forces during a

Henry marches into Lorrain.

29th September.

[32] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 240—423, and p. 473—477. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 282, 283. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 407—422. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 485—490. Davila, p. 1024—1026. Vie de Leſdiguieres, p. 113—125.

few

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few days, he led them in perſon to Verdun, under the walls of which place, the dukes of Lorrain and of Mayenne were encamped. They had been recently joined by the Italian army, ſent from Gregory the Fourteenth, under the command of his nephew, the duke of Monte Marciano. But, the enfeebled ſtate of the Papal infantry, deficient in every requiſite, and broken by diſeaſes, neither encouraged, nor juſtified the general of the League, in hazarding an engagement. Henry, finding it impoſſible to induce the confederates to quit the protection of the cannon of Verdun, decamped, and took the road towards Normandy; where, by his orders, marſhal Biron was already occupied in making preparations for an enterprize of magnitude and difficulty. The ſiege of Rouen, capital of the province, and one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the kingdom, was reſolved on, rather in compliance with the ſolicitation of the queen of England, who ſent the earl of Eſſex, at the head of a body of forces, to co-operate with the royal army; than from any juſt conviction of the facility and practicability of the attempt. Some weeks elapſed, notwithſtanding, before Biron ventured formally to inveſt the place, or before he was joined by the king, at the head of his remaining troops [53].

Offers battle to the army of the League.

Preparations for the ſiege of Rouen.

1ſt December.

The death of Gregory the Fourteenth, which took place at this period, after a ſhort pontificate of only ten months, impoſed new obſtacles to the operations of the Italian auxiliaries. Their commander did not heſitate to ſignify to the duke of Mayenne, his determination to regulate his motions by the orders of the cabinet of Madrid, and to receive no directions except from the duke of Parma [54]. But, a far more ſerious calamity, and which ſeemed to threaten the ſubverſion, or diſſolution of the political fabrick of the League itſelf, engroſſed the attention of its chief. The "council of

15th October.

Death of Gregory the Fourteenth.

[53] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 432, and p. 451—456. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 478—483. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 496, 497.

[54] Davila, p. 1036.

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Intrigues and designs of the "council "of fixteen."

"fixteen," emboldened by his abſence from the capital, ſecretly ſtimulated by the agents, and corrupted by the bribes of Spain, no longer even affected to pay obedience to his orders. After having ſent a deputation, compoſed of their own members, to wait on him, with various inſolent demands; and having written to Philip the Second, to make an offer of the crown of France to that monarch; they determined to confirm their authority, and to extinguiſh all oppoſition to their future proceedings, by a ſtroke of exemplary ſeverity. The greateſt obſtacle to their unlimited power in the metropolis, aroſe from the parliament; which aſſembly, though modelled according to the principles of the Guiſes, was yet by its formation, functions, and conſtitution, naturally inclined to ſupport the crown. Briſſon, who then occupied the office of firſt preſident, was a man of diſtinguiſhed talents, eloquence, and erudition. Wearied with the ſcenes of violence and oppreſſion, to which he was continually witneſs, he was ſuſpected of wiſhing to ſee monarchy reſtored, in the perſon of the rightful ſovereign. Conſcious that he was an object of deteſtation to the partizans of Spain; he is ſaid to have predicted and dreaded his approaching deſtiny [39].

They reſolve to put to death the obnoxious members of the parliament of Paris.

The acquittal of a perſon, named Brigard, whom the parliament declared innocent of any criminal correſpondence with the royaliſts, afforded the "ſixteen" a plauſible pretence and occaſion to gratify their vengeance. After many nocturnal meetings, in which the buſineſs was agitated, a determination was embraced, of ſeizing and putting to death the preſident, together with two other counſellors of the parliament, obnoxious to their reſentment. Certain members of their own body were entruſted with the execution of ſo daring and flagitious a reſolution. Having, conformably to it, made themſelves maſters of Briſſon's perſon, in the midſt of Paris, he was conducted to the little "Chatelet;" and after a ſhort recrimination, rather than

[39] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 504, 505, and p. 522, 523. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 438—441.

examina-

examination, that magiſtrate was, by the hands of the public executioner, hanged upon a beam, in an apartment of the priſon. He ſuffered with compoſure and dignity. Larcher, and Tardif, two of his colleagues, ſeized and brought to the ſame place, were diſpatched in a ſimilar manner. The three bodies, deſpoiled of their official robes, in which they had ſuffered, and only covered with a ſhirt, were, on the following evening, tranſported to the "Greve;" a ſpot reſerved for executions, where they were long expoſed to the curioſity of the people. Far from exciting thoſe emotions of indignation and abhorrence among the populace, which they were expected to produce; the ſpectacle appeared to awaken commiſeration in the beholders; and by order of the "ſixteen," they were, therefore, removed, and interred [56].

1591. 15th November. Deaths of Briſſon, Larcher, and Tardif.

No ſooner was intelligence of this tragical and violent proceeding, conveyed by repeated couriers, to the duke of Mayenne, than he inſtantly quitted Soiſſons; and at the head of about three hundred cavalry, and fifteen hundred foot, he marched to the metropolis. Uncertain of his determination, and apprehenſive of his reſentment, the "council of ſixteen," after much irreſolution, ſent a deputation to meet him without the city, authorized to palliate, if not exculpate their conduct: but, the duke declined to hear their juſtification. Entering Paris, he temporized and diſſembled, during a few days; till, having lulled them into a falſe ſecurity, and aſcertained the facility of puniſhing them, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the Spaniſh embaſſador, to execute a ſignal act of vengeance. A ſentence of death, drawn up, and ſigned by his own hand, was iſſued againſt nine of the moſt culpable. Previous to this deed, Buſſy le Clerc, one of the principal accomplices, to whom the fortreſs of the Baſtile had been entruſted; being ſummoned by the duke to ſurrender, agreed to evacuate the caſtle, on promiſe of perſonal ſafety. Only four of the

Duke of Mayenne arrives at Paris.

[56] Davila, p. 1040—1042. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 442—445. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 506—515.

late

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He cauſes four of the Leaguers to be executed. 4th December.

late criminals could be found; whoſe obſcure names hiſtory has preſerved, and who expiated by a prompt and ignominious death, their recent atrocities. They were inſtantly hanged, in a room of the palace of the Louvre. Their accomplices, concealed by the Spaniſh and Neapolitan troops in garriſon at Paris, or, apprized betimes of their danger, eluded the ſearch made after them, and took refuge at Bruſſels [57].

Suppreſſion of the "council of ſixteen."

Satisfied with having reſtored his authority by ſo vigorous an exertion, and deſirous of not driving to extremity minds already exaſperated; the duke of Mayenne ſoon afterwards cauſed the parliament to publiſh letters of abolition and amneſty, for all the others concerned in the recent tranſactions. But, he not only ſuppreſſed the "council of ſixteen:" every ſpecies of aſſembly for purpoſes of cabal or diſcuſſion, was prohibited on pain of death; and the houſes in which any ſuch meetings ſhould be held, were ordered to be razed to the ground. A new oath, of the moſt binding nature, confirming and cementing the union, was adminiſtered to governors of places, and officers of the holy League. They engaged, ſpecially, to renounce all private and perſonal intelligence with the Spaniards; and never to permit of the election of any king, without the duke's conſent and participation. The parliament underwent a change. Four preſidents were created, to ſupply the vacant ſeats; and every ſtep was taken which might, at once, reſtore tranquillity in the metropolis, and fully obliterate the memory of the troubles by which it had been agitated [58].

Subſequent acts of Mayenne.

Reflexions on theſe events.

Thoſe who were accuſtomed to reflect on human events, as objects of philoſophical and moral attention, could not help imagining, that they witneſſed a juſt retribution, when they beheld the council, whoſe factious and turbulent ſpirit had eminently contributed to elevate the duke of Guiſe, exterminated by his brother.

[57] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 446—449. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 515—519. Davila, p. 1042—1047.

[58] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 498—505. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 448. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 519—522.

Men,

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Men, who only ſaw in theſe tranſactions, the political conſequences with which they were pregnant; lamented, or predicted the injurious, and inevitable tendency of a meaſure, which deprived the duke of Mayenne himſelf of one of the moſt powerful engines of his government. The court of Spain, however penetrated with concern at the extinction of one of its principal ſupports, was ſilent; and the duke of Parma, whether from conviction, or from policy, applauded the vigor, while he extolled the moderation, of the head of the League [59].

[59] Davila, p. 1047.

CHAP. III.

Commencement of the ſiege of Rouen.—Meaſures of Villars, for its defence.—Preparations for the entrance of the duke of Parma into France.—King is wounded in a ſkirmiſh.—Advance of the confederate army to Rouen.—Succeſsful ſally of Villars.—Retreat of the confederates.—Their ſecond march to Rouen.—Henry raiſes the ſiege.—Caudebec, taken by the allies.—Duke of Parma, wounded.—The king attacks the army of Spain and the League.—Their diſtreſs.—The allies paſs the Seine.—Able conduct of the duke of Parma.—Negociation between Henry and the duke of Mayenne.—Embaſſy ſent to pope Clement the Eighth.—Siege of Epernay.—Death of marſhal Biron.—State of Paris.—Hoſtilities in the provinces.—Death of the duke of Parma.—Convocation of the States General.—Conferences of Surenne.—Siege of Noyon.—Henry determines to abjure the reformed religion.—Propoſitions of the Spaniſh embaſſadors, for the election of a king.—Intrigues and delays in the aſſembly of the States.—Nomination of the duke of Guiſe.—His rejection.—Preparations for Henry's abjuration.—Ceremony of it, at St. Denis.—Truce, proclaimed.—Diſmiſſion of the States General.

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1591. Cauſes, which led to the ſiege of Rouen.

WHILE the duke of Mayenne, by theſe acts of wholeſome energy and ſeverity, ſuſtained his declining authority, and reſtored a temporary calm to the capital; Henry had already engaged in the ſiege of Rouen: an undertaking, not only arduous and difficult in itſelf; but, which, from the circumſtances that followed it, had nearly involved him in complete deſtruction. Elizabeth, queen of England, whoſe magnanimity never ſuffered her, at any period of her reign, to loſe ſight of her intereſt; and whoſe policy was always

directed to the aggrandizement of her crown, or the advantage of her people, had eminently contributed to the adoption of that hazardous meaſure. In recompence for the liberal ſupplies of men and money with which ſhe had aſſiſted the royal cauſe, ſhe demanded the ceſſion of a port upon the Britiſh chanhel. Her miniſters named Dieppe, or Calais, and repeated the requiſition with unceaſing importunity. Henry oppoſed various difficulties and delays to a compliance with ſo harſh a requeſt; and he juſtly dreaded the odium, as well as the hazard, annexed to the introduction of the Engliſh, who had been expelled with ſuch difficulty from France, under Charles the Seventh. He was unwilling to cede Dieppe, which had manifeſted its unſhaken loyalty and adherence, in the critical extremity of his fortune, at his acceſſion; and under the walls of which he had repulſed the army of the League. His reluctance to reſtore Calais, was ſtill greater; nor could he avoid recollecting, that the Engliſh, after more than two centuries, had only been recently deprived of that place, by the fortunate audacity, and ſuperior ſkill of Francis, duke of Guiſe. Anxious, at the ſame time, to ſatisfy an ally, from whom he had received ſo many eſſential ſervices, and whoſe ſupport was ſo requiſite, he engaged to beſiege Rouen; in which place, when captured, he promiſed to grant Elizabeth's ſubjects, various privileges and exemptions, highly beneficial to their commerce [1].

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Rouen, capital of Upper Normandy, was in the ſixteenth, as it ſtill continues to be, in the eighteenth century, one of the moſt conſiderable cities of the kingdom. Its poſition on the Seine, and its vicinity to Paris, rendered it ſtill more important. At the commencement of the civil wars under Charles the Ninth, it had been captured by the royal forces, who entered it by ſtorm: but, as if a ſort of fatality attended the enterprize, Anthony, king of Navarre,

State and condition of that city.

[1] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 452. Davila, p. 1052.

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and father of Henry, had periſhed in the trenches, by a wound in the ſhoulder. Villars, who commanded in the place, joined to a thirſt for glory, and an inflexible adherence to his party, all the qualifications of a general and a ſoldier. Aware of Henry's deſign, or ſuſpecting his intention, he had made with equal activity and prudence, every preparation to ſuſtain a ſiege. He expelled all ſuch as were incapable of aſſiſting in its defence; and ſecured the perſons of the wavering, or the diſaffected. The garriſon was augmented; magazines were provided; the fortifications, repaired; and no exertion omitted, to render abortive the attempt of the king. Correſpondent effects reſulted from theſe judicious and ſalutary precautions. Although after the beginning of the ſiege, the emulation, excited among the various nations compoſing Henry's army, and the preſence of that prince, who never declined to partake of the common danger, produced unuſual efforts of valor; yet, little progreſs was effected by the aſſailants. Villars continually made ſallies, planned with admirable ſkill, and conducted with equal ſucceſs. The regular troops ſhut up in the place, were aided on all occaſions by the citizens; who, deſpiſing the paſſive conſtancy exhibited by the Pariſians under the preſſure of famine, aſpired to the praiſe of active courage. All the attempts to gain admittance by corruption, or to effect its capture by ſurprize, were rendered ineffectual; and the final event might ſtill be conſidered as uncertain and problematical [a].

*December. Commencement of the ſiege.

Mayenne demands aid of the duke of Parma.

The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, beheld with the livelieſt apprehenſion, and anticipated with anxiety, the conſequences of the ſiege. If Rouen ſhould fall into the king's poſſeſſion, he juſtly foreſaw, that its fate would draw after it the metropolis, and be infallibly followed by the extinction or ſuppreſſion of the League. He was unable to levy ſuch a body of forces, as might either enable him to raiſe the ſiege, or to offer battle to the enemy. All his hopes

[a] D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 257—260. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 451—459, and p. 464, 465. Sully, vol. i. p. 85—88. Davila, p. 1052—1066.

were, therefore, centered in the interpoſition of Spain; and he earneſtly implored the duke of Parma, whoſe preſence in the preceding year had been ſo uſeful to the Pariſians, to march a ſecond time to his ſupport. The young duke of Guiſe, whom his uncle had received with external demonſtrations of affection and regard, advanced to Landrecy in Flanders, to accelerate the arrival of the Spaniſh army; and the duke of Parma, who had received peremptory directions to comply with Mayenne's ſolicitations, exhibited the utmoſt promptitude in his preparations to enter France. Previous to ſo important a meaſure, he made two demands in the name of the Catholic king his maſter, which he declared to be of a nature not to admit of a refuſal. The firſt, was the ceſſion of La Fere, a frontier city of Picardy, as a place of ſecurity for his artillery. By the ſecond, he exacted a promiſe from the duke of Mayenne, to aſſemble the States General, and to recognize the infanta Clara Iſabella for queen of France. Philip, in return, offered to give his daughter's hand in marriage to the prince, whom the repreſentatives of the nation ſhould elect for their ſovereign. He further engaged, as ſoon as the infanta's title was publickly owned, to ſend ſuch powerful forces into the kingdom, as might ſpeedily and effectually cruſh the king of Navarre. Every conceſſion, or ſtipulation, which could reconcile the chief of the League to theſe propoſitions, and which could gratify his vanity, or advance his intereſts, were liberally granted by the miniſters of the Spaniſh monarch [3].

Preliminaries demanded, before the entrance of the Spaniſh troops.

However great were the embarraſſments, and however preſſing the neceſſity of the duke of Mayenne, he heſitated on complying with ſuch ſevere conditions. Reluctant to yield to the Catholic king, a place of ſuch ſtrength as La Fere, which gave an eaſy entrance into Picardy; he was, nevertheleſs, reduced to comply, not only by the exigency of his affairs; but, perhaps, ſtill more, from the appre-

Repugnance of the duke of Mayenne.

[3] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 459—463. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 506, 507. Davila, p. 1067—1069.

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henſion, that his refuſal would not preſerve the city. Colas, the governor, had already treated with the duke of Parma, for its ſurrender[4]. To the ſecond propoſition, which was negotiated between Jeannin, as agent for Mayenne, and Ibarra, the miniſter of Philip; though it included the transfer of the crown and monarchy of France to the houſe of Auſtria; he manifeſted leſs repugnance. The convocation of the States was diſtant, and uncertain: it might be retarded by the events of war, averted by addreſs, or finally rendered ſubſervient, under favorable circumſtances, to his own elevation. The danger of Rouen was preſent and imminent. He, therefore, after ſome delay, complied with the requiſition, and promiſed to aſſemble the States, as ſoon as the neceſſary ſteps could with ſafety be taken for that purpoſe[5]. Theſe important preliminaries being adjuſted, the confederate army entered Picardy, and directed their march towards Rouen.

He complies with them.

1592. January. Henry advances to meet the allies.

No ſooner had Henry received intelligence, that the dukes of Parma and Mayenne prepared to attack him, than he took the moſt effectual meaſures for retarding, and defeating their intention. Inſtructed by the experience of the preceding year, he determined not to allow the object of his preſent exertions to eſcape, with the ſame facility as Paris had done, at the approach of the Spaniſh army. Leaving, therefore, marſhal Biron, with the infantry, to continue the ſiege, he quitted the camp, at the head of above three thouſand French and German cavalry, with which he advanced to the gates of Abbeville. Falling, unexpectedly, on the quarters of the duke of Guiſe, Henry cut to pieces a conſiderable number of his ſoldiers; but, all his efforts to induce the enemy's horſe to leave the protection of the foot, and to engage him in the field, were ineffectual. The Spaniſh general, intent only on one great object; unacquainted with the country through which lay his march; and conſcious that he had to contend

Skirmiſh at Aumale.

[4] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 460.

[5] Ibid. p. 461—463. Davila, p. 1066–1069. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 506, 507.

with an adverſary equally intrepid and indefatigable; was not ſhaken in his determination. Preſent in the center of his army, although the feeble ſtate of his health incapacitated him for much active exertion; he ſuperintended every part of it, and ſtudiouſly repreſſed the indiſcreet valor of his troops. The temerity of the king had, on the contrary, nearly proved fatal to himſelf, and at once decided the conteſt. Deſirous to inſpect perſonally the appearance of the confederate forces, he imprudently engaged a ſuperior body of their cavalry, near the town of Aumale, and was reduced to retreat with precipitation. As his voice, armor, and figure rendered him conſpicuous, the enemy purſued him with redoubled ardor, and had nearly made themſelves maſters of his perſon. Almoſt all his followers, compoſed of the braveſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed officers or nobility, were unhorſed and wounded. Henry himſelf was ſtruck by a ball, which entered his back; but, having fortunately paſſed through the ſaddle, it only inflicted a ſlight wound. The duke of Mayenne warmly preſſed his colleague to give orders for the infantry to advance without a moment's delay; aſſuring him, that the king could not eſcape falling into his hands. But, the duke of Parma, accuſtomed to act on principles, not on probabilities; and apprehenſive that the flight of the enemy was only intended to draw him into an ambuſcade, refuſed. His caution, however juſt and commendable, extricated the king; and the approach of night enabled him to rejoin his troops[6].

5th February.

The king is wounded.

Far from being elated by ſuch an advantage, or preſſing his march, while Henry's wound incapacitated him for active ſervice; the Spaniſh commander continued to advance by ſlow and regular ſtages. He beautifully juſtified his conduct, in not cauſing his troops to purſue their late ſucceſs, by obſerving, that "he had believed himſelf contending with a general, and not againſt a carabineer."

Reaſons for the conduct of the duke of Parma.

[6] Davila, p. 1073—1077. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 466, 467. D'Aubigné, vol. iii, p. 262, 263. Sully, vol. i. p. 89—93. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 18, 19.

Unwilling

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1592.

Unwilling to plunge into a country already conſumed, and attentive to ſupply his ſoldiers with proviſions; he regulated all his motions by the maxims of conſummate military ſkill, and truſted no event to fortune. Meanwhile, the king, who had retired to Dieppe, recovering from the effect of his accident, exerted every effort to impede the confederate army in its progreſs, by occupying the ſtrongeſt poſitions, and attacking their quarters. Givry, one of his braveſt captains, having thrown himſelf into the little town of Neufchatel; though the place was almoſt defenceleſs, and he himſelf ſeverely indiſpoſed by a wound in the foot; yet, by his deſperate reſiſtance, interpoſed a delay of ſome days, and gave the royal party a ſhort reſpite, in which to embrace meaſures of ſafety. The allies having at length ſurmounted every obſtacle, and being arrived within a few leagues of the beſieged city, the relief of which was the principal object of the duke of Parma's entrance into France; it was determined in a council of war, to attack the head quarters of marſhal Biron, without delay. They were ſeparated by a conſiderable diſtance, from thoſe of the king; who having taken his ſtation in the rear of the confederates, in order to intercept their convoys, could not, without time and difficulty, come to the relief of his infantry before Rouen. Every diſpoſition was accordingly made, for carrying the deſign into immediate and vigorous execution; when a new and unexpected event arreſted the motions of the combined generals, and materially affected the progreſs of the campaign [7].

Givry defends Neufchatel.

Determination of the confederates, to attack the royal army.

Villars, whoſe genius, active and enterprizing, never intermitted its vigilance; and who apprehended, that if the Spaniſh commander effected the deliverance of Rouen, a garriſon, compoſed of foreign troops, might be left in the place; had already, in a great meaſure, anticipated the plan, concerted by the dukes of Parma and Mayenne. Profiting of the diviſion of the royal forces, and the abſence of the king, he ſallied out, at the head of near two thouſand horſe and foot;

Succeſsful ſalley, made by Villars, 26th February.

[7] Davila, p. 1080—1082. Sully, vol. i. p. 93. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 20, 21.

having

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having been previouſly informed by a deſerter, at what part of the camp to direct his attack. No effectual oppoſition was made; and the trenches were carried with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. Conſternation and terror prevailed univerſally: the works were demoliſhed; the mines blown up; the cannon ſpiked, or carried off; and all the advances made by the beſiegers, completely ruined. Biron arriving with the French and German infantry, at length repulſed the enemy, and compelled them to retire into the city: but, the loſs ſuſtained, was hardly leſs than five hundred killed, and nearly double the number wounded[s]. Intelligence of this important tranſaction was immediately tranſmitted to the confederates, by Villars; who added, that he conſidered himſelf as perfectly ſecure from any new moleſtation on the part of the beſiegers, at leaſt, for ſome days.

Parma urges to fall on Biron.

The information excited very different ſentiments in the two commanders, and gave riſe to oppoſite opinions on their future plan of operation. Conſcious that an army, which had juſt received ſo ſevere a check, was already more than half defeated; and that it was only neceſſary to follow up the blow, without giving them time to recover; the duke of Parma, contrary to the temperate caution of his uſual counſels, adviſed inſtantly to attack Biron's quarters, at Darnetal. He ſhewed the facility, and almoſt certainty of ſucceſs, againſt an enemy diſpirited, reduced in numbers, and unprotected by cavalry. But, the chief of the League, ſatisfied with ſeeing Rouen relieved, and apprehenſive that a victory would transform the Spaniards from allies, into maſters; peremptorily refuſed to co-operate, or, to advance with the troops under his command. The diſunion of the generals, extricated the royal forces from the dangerous ſituation in which they ſtood; and, as the object of the expedition ſeemed to be in ſome meaſure accompliſhed, the allies, inſtead of advancing, returned into Picardy without delay. Having repaſſed the river Somme, they ſat down

Mayenne refuſes.

Retreat of the allies.

[s] Sully, vol. i. p. 93. Davila, p. 1082—1084. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 471, 472. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 21—25.

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down before Rue, a small fortress of the county of Ponthieu, situated near the coast [9].

1592. March. Siege of Rouen, renewed.

Henry, meanwhile, disconcerted, but not dejected, by the unfortunate events which had taken place before Rouen, repaired to the camp; and endeavoured by augmented exertion, to retrieve his affairs. Unable to ascertain the motives that had induced the combined generals to retreat, at a moment when they might have prosecuted their advantages with success; he profited of the circumstance with celerity. The works, lately demolished, were repaired; and the siege was pushed with the utmost ardor. Villars, whose security, or contempt of the assailants, was such, that he did not hesitate to celebrate martial exercises and diversions without the gates of the city, as if in time of profound peace; began to experience in turn, the liveliest emotions of alarm. All his precautions could not provide against the encreasing want of provisions; and he was at length reduced to acquaint the dukes of Parma and Mayenne, that if he was not succoured within a very limited time, he must necessarily capitulate with the enemy. The confederate chiefs instantly complied with the summons; desisted from the prosecution of the attempt upon Rue; and began their march a second time, towards Rouen. Such was the rapidity with which it was conducted, that only six days were consumed in traversing the same tract of country, through which they had not penetrated in thirty days, on their preceding invasion. The duke of Parma, having left his heavy baggage behind him; and being unopposed by the royal cavalry, appeared in the vicinity of Rouen, at the time prefixed. His army did not exceed five thousand horse, and about twelve thousand infantry, composed of veteran and highly disciplined troops [10].

Rapid march of the allies, to its relief.

20th April. State of the royal forces.

The surprize in the royal camp, at the sudden re-appearance of the allied army, was not unmixed with apprehension. Henry had

[9] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 473, 474. Davila, p. 1085, 1086. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 25—27.
[10] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 475—478. Davila, p. 1089.

neither

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neither expected the duke of Parma's return; nor conceived it poſſible, that he ſhould precipitate his march in ſo unuſual a manner. The nobility and gentry, who compoſed the principal ſtrength of the royal cavalry; and who ſerved at their own expence; wearied with fruitleſs expectation of an action, and no longer ſupported by a hope of engaging the Spaniards; had retired to their caſtles. Nor was the infantry, reduced in numbers, broken by a five months ſiege, and diſcontented from want of pay, capable of ſtanding the ſhock of the confederate forces, led by the ableſt general in Europe. The king could not expect the attack of the duke of Parma in his trenches; and it was ſcarcely leſs hazardous to venture a battle. Under theſe embarraſſing circumſtances, and having only the choice of evils; he ſupplied by firmneſs and prudence, every deficiency. While the duke of Bouillon, at the head of the German horſe, covered the operations of the army, Henry collected his ſoldiers, withdrew his cannon, and decamped from before the city; having, by a ſingular fatality, ſeen Rouen, on the preſent occaſion, as Paris had been before, extricated by the ſame interpoſition. His retreat bore, notwithſtanding, no appearance of flight. He even remained, during a ſhort time, drawn up ready for action, before he finally retired along the eaſtern bank of the Seine, to Pont de l'Arche; the baron of Biron protecting and ſecuring the rear [11].

Henry raiſes the ſiege of Rouen.

If the exhortations of the Spaniſh commander had been obeyed, it is probable, that Henry might have found all his talents unequal to accompliſhing ſo hazardous an attempt. The duke of Parma urged his colleague to fall upon the king, while embarraſſed in retreating before a ſuperior army; and he anſwered for the ſucceſs of the experiment. But, motives ſimilar to thoſe which had impelled the duke of Mayenne to refuſe his concurrence on a former occaſion, induced him to withhold it a ſecond time. He juſtified his determination

Oppoſite opinions of the French, and Spaniſh commanders.

[11] Davila, p. 1090, 1091. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 478. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 510.

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by reaſons of a local nature, drawn from the exhauſted condition of the country, and the difficulty of compelling Henry to a battle, without manifeſt hazard. The confederates having, therefore, thrown ſupplies into Rouen, drew off towards Caudebec; a ſmall town ſituated on the Seine, ſeveral leagues lower down, and in which magazines of proviſions had been laid up by the king. In compliance with the entreaties of his colleague, the Spaniſh general laid ſiege to the place, which capitulated in a few days: while he was occupied in examining the works, and erecting batteries, he received a wound from a muſket ball, under the elbow, which penetrating between the bones of the arm, ſtuck in the fleſh, near the wriſt. He was carried to his tent; but, the ſeverity of the ſurgical operations neceſſary for extracting the ball, added to his preceding weakneſs, produced a fever, and incapacitated him for acting with energy, or effect. During this interval, the duke of Mayenne exerciſed the ſupreme military authority [12].

1592. Siege of Caudebec.

Duke of Parma is wounded.

May.

The tide of fortune, which had ſo long perſecuted the king, and even reduced him more than once to the verge of ruin, returned at length in a contrary direction. While the allies, engaged in beſieging Caudebec, or in ſecuring their acquiſition, neglected to provide for their retreat; Henry, reinforced from every quarter, prepared to attack them. The indiſpoſition of the duke of Parma, which menaced his life; and the imprudence, or obſtinacy of the French commander, had involved the army in almoſt inſurmountable difficulties. They had entangled themſelves in a peninſula, formed by the river Seine, which near its mouth becomes an eſtuary, and by the Britiſh channel; open only on one ſide, where it communicated with Upper Normandy. The royal forces, advancing, encloſed them, ſtraitened their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and ſpeedily reduced them to the greateſt diſtreſs. Henry, conſcious that they could neither

Henry prepares to attack the allies.

[12] Sully, vol. i. p. 94. Davila, p. 1094—1097. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 489—491.

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fight, nor eſcape, except under multiplied embarraſſments, adopted on this occaſion, a mode of conduct totally diſſimilar from his character. Expecting from time and the progreſs of famine, the reward of his labours, he no longer deſired to provoke the enemy to an action; but, occupying all the paſſes, falling on their out-poſts, and haraſſing them by perpetual ſkirmiſhes, he compelled them to recede on every ſide[11].

His operations.

Already a variety of calamities began to be experienced in the camp of the allies. Proviſions became ſcarce: the cavalry was in want of provender: even water was an object of purchaſe; that of the Seine, by its vicinity to the ſea, being brackiſh and unwholeſome. Diſeaſes prevailed in the army; and money was wanting to pay the troops. The duke of Mayenne, ſeverely indiſpoſed, was no longer able to perform the functions of a commander. Yet, under this ſtate of depreſſion, ſuch was the deference, or the affection borne towards the duke of Parma, and ſo implicit was the confidence repoſed in his capacity, that hardly a murmur of diſcontent was heard. The confederates, receding before the royal forces, and unable to force a paſſage through them, retired towards the Seine, and took poſt again near the town of Caudebec.

Famine in the allied camp.

18th May.

From a ſituation ſo hopeleſs and almoſt deſperate, they were extricated by the ſublime talents of the Spaniſh general. Weakened by diſeaſe, and enfeebled by the effect of his wound; his mind, nevertheleſs, conceived and matured a plan, at once daring and unprecedented. After having long revolved it in his thoughts, he determined to paſs his whole army over the Seine, as the only remaining mode of ſafety. The attempt to croſs a river of prodigious breadth, agitated, and frequently tempeſtuous; covered by the veſſels of the Dutch and other auxiliaries; and to conduct in ſafety to the oppoſite bank, a body of forces, encumbered with baggage and artillery, in

Perilous ſituation of Mayenne and Parma.

[11] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 482, 483. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 30, 31.

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preſence of an enemy vigilant to improve every advantage, and eager to aſſail them in their retreat; ſeemed to partake rather of temerity, than of wiſdom. In order to effect it, the duke began by conſtructing two forts, or redoubts, mounted with cannon, one on each ſide of the Seine, and in which he ſtationed a ſelect number of Walloons. Having cauſed as many boats, as could with expedition be collected, to approach the ſhore; and Villars aiding him with rafts and beams, which were floated down the ſtream from Rouen, during the night; a bridge was inſtantly conſtructed. Without a moment's delay, the French infantry and cavalry began to paſs over; followed by the baggage, and cannon. The Spaniſh ſoldiers cloſed the line of march, while the Italians, to the number of about a thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, completely covered and concealed the operation. Such was the admirable order and ſilence, exhibited during the paſſage, that ſoon after break of day, nearly the whole army had reached the oppoſite ſhore [14].

They paſs the Seine.

22d May.

Order, obſerved in the execution of it.

The firſt intelligence of ſo extraordinary an event was brought to Henry, by the baron of Biron; who having been ſent out to reconnoitre the camp, returned, and related, that it was already evacuated by the enemy, who were ſtill occupied in croſſing the river. It excited not leſs amazement, than deſpair, in the king, who beheld the prey reſcued from his hands, at the preciſe time when he regarded it as captured. All his efforts to impede the completion of the enemy's paſſage, were ineffectual. The redoubt, conſtructed on the eaſtern bank, rendered it impracticable for the infantry to approach: while Rainuce, prince of Parma, emulating the glory of his father, protected the retreat; cauſed the cannon to be drawn out, and embarked; and finally paſſed over himſelf, without ſuſtaining any loſs. A battery, haſtily conſtructed by Henry's order; added to the exertions of the royal veſſels and gallies, which came to his aſſiſtance; endangered, and delayed, but, could not finally prevent the accompliſh-

Its ſucceſs.

Ineffectual efforts of the king, to impede them.

[14] Davila, p. 1105—1107. D'Aub. vol. iii. p. 265, 266. Sully, vol. i. p. 94, 95.

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ment of the duke of Parma's project. Rainuce, after acquiring the highest honor by his intrepidity and coolness, secured the cannon, set fire to the bridge, and immediately rejoined the confederate army; which as it landed, began to march off towards Rouen. Such was the precipitation with which the Spanish commander urged his retreat; and so much did he dread being overtaken, or compelled to hazard an action; that, in four days from his passing the Seine, he reached the bridge of St. Cloud, within two leagues of Paris. Having received the compliments and congratulations of the Parisians, he continued his progress to Chateau Thierry on the Marne, where he thought proper to give some respite to his troops, and to himself. Only about five hundred infantry, whom fatigue and lassitude had incapacitated for keeping pace with the body of the army, being surrounded by Souvré, whom Henry had sent at the head of two thousand horse, to pursue the Spanish general, were reduced to surrender prisoners of war. The duke of Mayenne, not less severely indisposed than his colleague, and unable to accompany him, was left behind at Rouen, where his recovery was long regarded as doubtful, and almost hopeless [15].

March of Parma.

Frustrated in his expectations of terminating the war, and obliged to dismiss the nobility after so severe a campaign; the king saw himself, by this sudden reverse, at once precipitated from all his hopes. The superior talents of his enemy, and the confidence which he had too implicitly placed in the impediments opposed to the escape of the confederate army, compelled him again to renew the contest for his crown. He yielded, therefore, to necessity; disbanded a considerable part of his forces; and retaining only about five thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he bent his course towards Picardy, in order to prevent the duke of Parma from attacking and capturing any place of consequence, on his return to the Netherlands.

Henry marches into Picardy.

[15] Davila, p. 1107—1109. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 485—488. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 512—514. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 32, 33.

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That illuſtrious commander, enfeebled by his wound, and ſinking under bodily infirmities, was rapidly approaching the final limit of his life and exploits. The ſeeds of diſunion, ſown during the progreſs of the late campaign, between him and the chief of the League, had produced nearly an open rupture; and the preference ſhewn by the Spaniſh general, on every occaſion, to the young duke of Guiſe, was not calculated to allay the quarrel. The duke of Mayenne remained almoſt forgotten, at Rouen; and as his diſeaſe was believed to be incurable, the miniſters of the court of Madrid no longer obſerved towards him even the forms of deference and reſpect. They refuſed him ſupplies of money; augmented the foreign garriſon in the metropolis; and affected to regard his authority as extinct. Irritated at ſuch proceedings, he opened a negotiation with the king, notwithſtanding the conceſſions and advances made him by Philip's embaſſadors, on the recovery of his health. But, the unreaſonable demands of the duke for himſelf, which did not fall ſhort of erecting an hereditary principality, independant of the crown, within the monarchy; finally ſuſpended the treaty [46]. The articles were ſpeedily divulged; and as the renunciation of the Proteſtant religion by Henry, and his reconciliation to the Romiſh church within a ſtipulated period, formed the baſis and principle of it, the Hugonots were univerſally alarmed. On the other hand, the party, formed by the cardinal of Bourbon, was not extinct; and the zealous Catholics, weary with expecting the accompliſhment of the king's promiſes, or deſpairing of his converſion, manifeſted ſigns of impatience and alienation. His ſituation became daily more critical, and demanded reſolutions of vigor. It is probable, that a prince endowed with ſo much penetration, had long foreſeen the neceſſity of ultimately adopting the national religion; and that he only deſired to delay the act, till it could be done without injuring his dignity, or degrading his character in the public eſtimation.

Diſunion between Parma, and Mayenne.

Ineffectual negociation between Henry and Mayenne.

Critical ſituation of the king.

[46] Davila, p. 1112—1117. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 516—518.

Aldobran-

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Election of Clement the Eighth.

Aldobrandini, a Florentine, then occupied the chair of St. Peter. Elevated to that eminence by the Spaniſh faction, which was irreſiſtible in the conclave, he embraced, like his predeceſſors, the intereſts of the League, and even promiſed ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance to its chief. But, of a temper more moderate, and of a mind more enlarged and pacific, than Gregory the Fourteenth, he diſdained ſervilely to become the inſtrument of Philip the Second's vengeance, or ambition. Importuned by the Catholics, and impelled by the hope of finding in the new pontiff, Clement the Eighth, a treatment more generous and paternal, than he had experienced ſince the deceaſe of Sixtus the Fifth; Henry reſolved to open an indirect intercourſe with the holy ſee. The cardinal of Gondy, biſhop of Paris, and the marquis of Piſani, who had been embaſſador at Rome from Henry the Third, were named to wait on Clement, in the names, and on the part of the Catholic nobility, attached to the crown. Their ſecret inſtructions were calculated to prepare the way for the reconciliation of the king. Henry even oppoſed the attempt made nearly at the ſame time, by the archbiſhop of Bourges, to name a patriarch for the government of the Gallican church; and exhibited by his conduct, a determination not to ſeparate the kingdom from its obedience to the apoſtolic ſee [17]. Meaſures ſo politic and conciliating, which promiſed a ſpeedy termination of the breach with the court of Rome, tended to reſtrain the machinations, and to allay the diſcontent of the zealous adherents of the antient religion. The embaſſy was, notwithſtanding, far from producing immediately the beneficial effects naturally to have been expected. Clement, irritated againſt Henry, and uncertain of the event of the war; interdicted the cardinal, or Piſani, from preſuming to enter on the eccleſiaſtical territories; and expreſſed his indignation at any attempt to embrace the cauſe of an apoſtate heretic. It required time and addreſs, to mol-

Henry names two commiſſioners, to wait on the pope.

They are prohibited from entering Rome.

[17] Davila, p. 1123, 1124. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 494—499.

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lify the pontiff, and to diſpoſe him towards forgiveneſs and reconciliation [18].

1592. July. Hoſtilities in Champagne.

The events of the war, which had been, in ſome meaſure, ſuſpended by theſe negociations, were again renewed; but, the theatre of hoſtilities was transferred from Normandy, to Champagne; from the banks of the Seine, to thoſe of the Marne. On his return into Flanders, the duke of Parma had left a body of auxiliary troops, to act under the orders of the duke of Mayenne; whom the Spaniſh court was again deſirous to attach. In conjunction with the forces of the League, they attacked, and carried the town of Epernay. Henry, urged to retake a place, which, from its poſition on the Marne, greatly incommoded his adherents, ſent marſhal Biron without delay, to form the ſiege; while he himſelf, at the head of the cavalry, overran the country, to the gates of Chalons. Biron loſt his life before Epernay, by a cannon ball, at an advanced age. His abilities, which were not confined to the camp; his inflexible and loyal adherence to Henry; and the verſatile activity of his talents, which embraced the operations of the cabinet, as well as of the field; had raiſed him to an extraordinary and envied height of power. Indifferent in concerns of religion, and even ſuſpected of leaning towards the doctrines of the Reformation; he manifeſted little impatience, or anxiety, at the delay of the king's converſion. Accuſed not only by his enemies, but, equally by his friends, of wiſhing to prolong a war, in which he occupied ſo diſtinguiſhed a place; his ambition was not exempt from cenſure. His own ſon is ſaid to have reproached him with ſo culpable a ſacrifice of public duty, to private intereſt, and perſonal aggrandizement. The king wept for his loſs; and notwithſtanding his defects, he muſt be owned to have rendered eminent ſervices to that monarch, and to the crown of France [19].

26th July. Death of marſhal Biron.

His character.

[18] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 505—511. Davila, p. 1132—1137.

[19] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 490, 491. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 512, and p. 520. Sully, vol. i. p. 86, and p. 93. Davila, p. 1127, 1128. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 41. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 267.

Epernay,

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Epernay, after a ſhort, but, vigorous reſiſtance, was reduced to capitulate; nor were the efforts of the garriſon, compoſed in part of Spaniards, aided by every exertion of the duke of Guiſe to throw ſuccours into the place, able long to protract its ſurrender. In order to bridle the Pariſians, and to deprive the capital of the ſupplies of proviſions conſtantly drawn from the province of Champagne; the king cauſed a fort to be conſtructed at Gournay, on the Marne, only four leagues diſtant from Paris. It was raiſed with ſuch diſpatch, and defended with ſuch courage, that the duke of Mayenne, after vainly attacking it, was neceſſitated to decamp. He had been previouſly repulſed from before Quillebœuf, a little town near the mouth of the Seine, which he beſieged in conjunction with Villars. The forces of the League, when no longer ſuſtained by the ability or interference of the duke of Parma, were unequal to contending with the king. Philip the Second alone ſupported, and prolonged the exiſtence of the union, which began to relax in its violence. The people were exhauſted; and loudly demanded a termination of their calamities. Henry's character, as it became more known to his ſubjects, excited general affection; and only his reconciliation with the ſee of Rome was wanting, to turn in his favor, the tide of public opinion. Even in Paris, which had been ſo devoted to the Guiſes, and where rebellion retired as to a center; a ſlow, and ſilent fermentation, was already begun. That metropolis, deprived of the luſtre of a court, unacquainted with its ſovereign, tyrannized by faction, unpeopled by civil war, and deſtitute of activity, induſtry, or commerce; preſented only the emaciated figure of its preceding greatneſs, opulence, and proſperity. Garriſoned by Spaniards and Neapolitans, it ſeemed to have anticipated its reduction to the Spaniſh yoke. Surrounded on all ſides by the royal forces, though not formally inveſted, the inhabitants ſuffered many of the inconveniencies and privations, annexed to a ſiege. But, the deſtruction of the "council of ſixteen," and the extinction of that venal and furious faction, had emancipated the loyal, and

1592. 8th Auguſt. Capture of Epernay.

Decline of the affairs of Mayenne.

Deplorable ſtate of Paris.

Indications of returning loyalty, in the people.

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1592. 26th October.

and moderate part of the citizens. Symptoms of returning allegiance manifeſted themſelves; and it required the perſonal interpoſition of the duke of Mayenne, to prevent a deputation being ſent to the king, to demand of him the freedom of communication between Paris and the other cities of the kingdom. The municipal offices and authority, of which the "ſixteen" had been deprived, and rendered incapable; were exerciſed by men, the majority of whom ſecretly wiſhed for the reſtoration of tranquillity, the expulſion of the Spaniards, and the downfall of the League. Only the convocation of the States General, which was conſidered as imminent, and from which a remedy to the national misfortunes was expected, repreſſed the ſpirit of reviving loyalty, and ſuſpended the general diſpoſition towards peace [20].

Operations of war, in the provinces.

25th May.

The calamities of war were not leſs ſenſibly felt, at a diſtance from the capital; and ſcarcely any part of the kingdom was exempt from its ravages. In Brittany, the princes of Conti, and of Dombes, who commanded the royal forces, were attacked and defeated near Craön, by the duke of Mercœur, aided by the Spaniards. But, this misfortune was amply compenſated, by the advantages which Henry's generals obtained in other quarters. The marſhal duke of Bouillon captured various places in Lorrain, and repreſſed the troops of the League. In Languedoc, the young duke of Joyeuſe, brother to the celebrated favorite of Henry the Third, who was killed at the battle of Coutras; periſhed by a death not leſs tragical and premature. Having laid ſiege to Villemur, a town in the vicinity of Toulouſe, at the head of a conſiderable army of Leaguers; he was completely routed, compelled to fly, and drowned in the river Tarn. Provence and Dauphiné were eminently the theatre of hoſtilities, rarely intermitted, and marked by various reverſes of fortune. La Valette, governor of Provence, whoſe activity and talents had hitherto ren-

Defeat, and death of the duke of Joyeuſe.

19th October.

Military operations in Provence.

[20] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 73—85. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 512.

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dered all the exertions of the duke of Savoy ineffectual, having been killed by a ball, at the ſiege of a little fortreſs, near the ſhore of the Mediterranean; his death was productive of a temporary confuſion in the affairs of the province [21]. Charles Emanuel vainly endeavoured, notwithſtanding, to profit of the circumſtance; and his partizans having been aſſaſſinated, or expelled from the city of Arles, he evacuated Aix, and withdrew to Nice. The abſence of the duke of Epernon, brother and ſucceſſor of La Valette, emboldened him to undertake the ſiege of Antibes, which ſurrendered, after a long and generous reſiſtance; but, on the arrival of the new governor, it was again recovered [22]. 7th Auguſt. November.

Leſdiguieres carries the war into Savoy.

Leſdiguieres, who commanded in Dauphiné, and whoſe military exploits conducted him under Louis the Thirteenth, to the dignity of conſtable of France; not content with repelling the inroads of the duke of Savoy, projected to transfer the war into the heart of his own dominions. Zealouſly attached to the reformed religion, he was not leſs devoted to the crown; and his troops, long accuſtomed to victory under his auſpices, thought no attempt too arduous for their courage. Aſſembling them, he penetrated through the defiles of the Alps; made himſelf maſter of Perouſe, and advanced to Suſa, at the diſtance of only a few leagues from Turin. All the efforts of Charles Emanuel in perſon, at the head of his braveſt forces, could only impede; but, did not finally prevent, the progreſs of Leſdiguieres. In defiance of every obſtacle, he conſtructed, and maintained a fortreſs at Briqueras, only ſixteen miles from the capital of Piemont; repulſed an attempt, made by the enemy, to ſcale the works; and after a campaign, equally glorious to himſelf, and ruinous to the duke of Savoy, he returned into Dauphiné [23]. The French name and arms, which, during a period of three and thirty years, ſince the peace of Cateau in 1559, had not been known be-

His exploits, and ſucceſs.

[21] Vie de Leſdiguieres, p. 125—127. Vie d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 1—8.

[22] Vie d'Epernon, p. 8—35.

[23] Vie de Leſdiguieres, p. 129—138.

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yond the Alps; re-appeared again in Italy, with augmented luſtre, under the conduct of a Hugonot [24].

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Cauſes of the convocation of the States General.

The aſſembly of the States General, long delayed by the duke of Mayenne, under a variety of pretences, prepared at length to meet. It is difficult to aſcertain with certainty, whether their convocation on his part, was reluctant, or voluntary. Under the name of lieutenant-general of the crown, he already exerciſed all the great functions of the monarchical power; and therefore might naturally deprecate any experiment, by which his authority could be ſhaken, or ſubverted. But, it is not improbable, that he flattered himſelf with directing and conducting the machine to which he was about to give birth, and that he nouriſhed expectations of aſcending the throne. The time during which he had already occupied his high ſtation, had enabled him to ſecure numerous adherents, diſpoſed to conduce to his further aggrandizement. Paris, the place of holding the aſſembly, was under his influence; and if the election of a king ſhould fall upon a native of France, he beheld no competitor who could juſtly diſpute with him that dignity. The impediments to a foreign prince, of whatever nation, were many, great, and perhaps inſurmountable. On the other hand, the Spaniſh miniſters anxiouſly anticipated, and ardently preſſed for the convocation of the States. They regarded it as the term of all their labours, and the conſummation of their political views. Diſappointed by the firmneſs of the duke of Mayenne, in their intention of holding them at Soiſſons, to which city the forces under the duke of Parma were intended to advance, in order to overawe the deliberations; they ſtill promiſed themſelves equal ſucceſs.

Motives of Mayenne,

and of the Spaniſh miniſters.

Philip, ſinking under infirmities, and approaching the end of his life, fondly hoped to place on the vacant throne of France, his daughter,

[24] Vie de Leſdiguieres, p. 129—138. D'Aub. vol. iii. p. 267—274, and p. 277—284. Davila, p. 1142—1151. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 521—533. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 517—555. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 49—72.

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the infanta; and to gratify, before he ſunk into the grave, his inſatiable thirſt of dominion, by transferring the French ſceptre to the houſe of Auſtria. He projected to maintain the election, by a vaſt army, and by the expenditure of proportionate treaſures. Already the duke of Parma had advanced to Arras, with intent to enter a third time into Picardy, and to march towards Paris; while Henry, vigilant to prevent him, repaired to Corbie, on the river Somme, prepared to diſpute his paſſage. But, death terminated all the ſchemes of the Spaniſh general, and clouded the proſpects of the court of Madrid. Farneſe expired at Arras, exhauſted by illneſs, againſt which he had vainly ſtruggled; and having only attained his forty-ſeventh year. The ſplendor of Philip's conqueſts in the Netherlands, and the expectation of reducing the revolted provinces, if ſo chimerical a hope ſtill ſurvived, became extinct with the duke of Parma. Even before his death, Maurice, prince of Orange, availing himſelf of the two invaſions of France, expelled the Spaniards from the greater part of their poſſeſſions beyond the Rhine; and he ſoon afterwards made himſelf maſter of Gertruydenberg, on the frontiers of Brabant. As the duke of Parma's deceaſe had been long foreſeen, Philip had provided for the government of the Low Countries. Erneſt, count Mansfeldt, was named proviſionally to that employment, till the arrival of the archduke, Erneſt, brother to the emperor, Rodolph the Second. But, the great endowments, civil and military, which had rendered the duke of Parma juſtly reſpected and beloved, even when executing the tyrannical mandates of an implacable prince, could not be eaſily replaced. To his death, at ſo critical a juncture, may be in part attributed the conſequent ſubverſion of Philip's attempts to procure the election of the infanta, and the final diſſolution of his ambitious projects [25].

1592.

November.

2d December. Death of the duke of Parma.

Injurious effects of that event, to Philip the Second.

In the manifeſto, iſſued by the duke of Mayenne, as lieutenant-general of the crown, for the convocation of the States, the great

1593. 5th January. Object of the convocation.

[25] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 569—572. Davila, p. 1141, 1142. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 89—91. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 533—535.

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purpoſes of their meeting were indefinitely and ambiguouſly deſcribed, under the general terms of "providing a remedy for the "preſervation of religion, and the ſtate." But, in a letter publiſhed a few days afterwards by the cardinal of Placentia, the Papal legate, addreſſed to the Catholics of the oppoſite party; thoſe objects were unequivocally ſtated to be, for the election of a "moſt chriſtian, and "truly Catholic king." It was impoſſible not to recognize under that deſignation, Philip the Second, the head and protector of the League. Neither the number and quality of the deputies, nor the importance of the matters agitated in the aſſembly, at its commencement, correſponded to the ideas entertained by the nation. The delegates, ſent by the nobility, were few; and thoſe of the third eſtate, moſtly obſcure and unknown, or avowedly corrupted by the largeſſes of Spain [26]. Of the eccleſiaſtical order, the repreſentatives were more numerous and eminent. Inſtead of proceeding to fill the vacant throne, ſcarcely had the deliberations commenced in the palace of the Louvre, with the forms cuſtomary on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, when they were ſuddenly ſuſpended. Matters were not yet ripe, for the great and delicate meaſure of conferring the crown; nor had the numerous competitors adjuſted and ſettled their reſpective and claſhing pretenſions. The duke of Feria, ſent by Philip, at the head of an embaſſy, to propoſe the infanta, waited at Soiſſons, in order previouſly to confer with the duke of Mayenne. Even the princes of the houſe of Lorrain were diſunited, and bent on the proſecution of oppoſite ſchemes, for their perſonal aggrandizement. It was indiſpenſible to adjuſt their jarring intereſts, and to unite their efforts for the attainment of a common object. Induced by theſe motives, the duke of Mayenne quitted Paris, and repaired to Soiſſons; after having taken all the precautions requiſite to prevent the ſtates from embracing in his abſence, any reſolutions of importance [27].

Opening of the aſſembly.

26th January. Their proceedings are ſuſpended.

[26] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 700, 701. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 538.

[27] Davila, p. 1177, 1178, and p. 1192. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 701. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 537, 538.

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The declaration, convening that assembly in his name, and by his authority, was, however, productive of a consequence, not foreseen by the zealous partizans of Spain. Instead of excluding from the national deliberations, the adherents of Henry; the duke had expressly invited and exhorted the Catholic prelates, nobility, and officers of the crown, to unite themselves to the party of which he was the chief, in order by their joint efforts to adduce a remedy to the misfortunes of the state. The proposition, when it reached the persons to whom it was addressed, appeared to be capable of producing effects so beneficial, if improved, that they almost immediately determined to avail themselves of the occasion. Having obtained the approbation and sanction of the king; whose opposition would even have been ineffectual to prevent a measure, which opened a prospect, however distant or improbable, of terminating the war; they drew up an answer to the invitation. It expressed, in the names of all the nobility attached to the royal cause, their readiness and disposition to send a delegation of their body, to any convenient place between Paris and St. Denis, there to confer with deputies from the adherents of the League. A trumpet, charged to deliver the letter, was dispatched to the duke of Mayenne, who had not yet quitted the capital [28].

The Catholics in the royal army propose a conference.

27th January.

So unexpected an overture, the result of which might be eventually subversive of all the projects of the court of Madrid, was violently opposed by the Spanish and Papal advocates. The cardinal legate stigmatized it as impious; and the college of the Sorbonne condemned it as heretical. But, the States General, to whom it was addressed, and before whom it was laid, passed a very opposite judgment on its contents. After a debate of considerable length and violence, it was decided, that a reply should be sent to the royalist nobles; in which, though they protested their resolution not to ac-

23d February. It is accepted by the States General.

[28] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 676—678, and p. 684, 685. Davila, p. 1179—1182. Memoires de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 52—58.

knowledge,

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knowledge, or to hold any communication with a heretic prince, they readily conſented to the propoſed conference [29]. Delays of various kinds, reſulting from the unſettled nature of the kingdom, and from the difficulty of fixing on a commodious place of meeting, protracted its completion. But, Surenne, a village in the vicinity of Paris, having been at length ſelected for the purpoſe, every obſtacle diſappeared; and precautions were taken for the reciprocal accommodation and mutual ſecurity of the members of the two parties, appointed to conduct the conference [30].

9th February. Conference between Mayenne and the Spaniſh miniſters, at Soiſſons.

While theſe intereſting propoſitions were agitated, the duke of Mayenne arrived at Soiſſons, accompanied only by four hundred cavalry, where his preſence was impatiently expected by Philip's embaſſadors. Diſputes, heightened by acrimonious expreſſions, and perſonal recrimination, took place at their firſt interview. The duke of Feria, unacquainted with the genius of the French nation; imbued with ideas of the facility and certainty of the election of the infanta; and little diſpoſed to conſider the co-operation of the chief of the League, as indiſpenſible to the ſucceſs of his maſter's views on the French crown; injudiciouſly alienated him by marks of reſentment and aſperity. The meaſures taken by the Catholic king, for enſuring ſo vaſt an object, were, notwithſtanding, greatly inadequate to its value and importance. Neither military forces, capable of cruſhing the royal party; nor pecuniary funds, competent to corrupt and purchaſe the ſuffrages of the States; had been provided by the court of Madrid. The duke of Mayenne, juſtly irritated at the defect of ability, or of exertion in the Spaniards, reproached them with ſuch culpable and pernicious neglect, at a moment when they expected the conſummation of their hopes. But, Philip was no longer in a ſituation to gratify the avidity, or to dazzle and ſubject the

Diſputes.

[29] Memoires de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 59—72.

[30] Davila, p. 1202—1208. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 536—539. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 694—699. Memoires de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 72—81.

people,

people, over whom he aſpired to reign. His treaſures were exhauſted; his finances diſordered; and his revenues anticipated, or mortgaged. The veteran bands, accuſtomed to victory under the duke of Parma, quitted their ſtandards after his deceaſe, and deſolated the provinces which they were intended to protect. Except the city of Groningen, ſcarcely any place of conſequence in the northern part of the Low Countries, was unſubdued by the Dutch. Even in Spain, the moſt alarming ſedition had manifeſted itſelf among the Arragoneſe, where alone, ſome ſparks of their antient freedom yet ſurvived. Vargas, who commanded a body of troops, deſtined to enter France, was ſent to Sarragoſſa, to quell the inſurrection, which was not effected without blood. In ſo embarraſſed and critical a poſture of his affairs, Philip could ill ſpare the troops and money, indiſpenſible to place his daughter on the throne of France[31].

1593. Inability of the king of Spain, to aid the League.

Theſe circumſtances, which were well known to the embaſſadors of Spain, and which were even urged or enumerated by the duke of Feria, as an excuſe and extenuation of the feeble ſuccors ſent to the League, by his ſovereign; were, notwithſtanding, inſufficient to moderate his conduct towards Mayenne. Mutual neceſſity alone prevented them from coming to a decided rupture on both ſides, and produced a diſſembled reconciliation. On his departure from Soiſſons, the duke of Mayenne immediately joined the forces, conducted by Charles, count Mansfeldt, ſent by the governor of the Low Countries to his aid. They amounted only to about four thouſand infantry, and a thouſand horſe. The Papal troops were diminiſhed to twelve hundred men; and ſuch was the depreſſed condition of the League, that their army was inferior to that of Spain. Unable to penetrate into the interior provinces of the kingdom, or to attempt the relief of the capital, by laying ſiege to the royal garriſons which ſtraitened it on every ſide; they undertook to inveſt Noyon, in

Imprudence, and violence of Feria.

March. Siege, and capture of Noyon.

[31] Davila, p. 1192—1197. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 533—536.

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Picardy. It capitulated, after three weeks: but, exhauſted by a ſingle effort, however ſucceſsful, the allies ſoon ſeparated. Mansfeldt, recalled by his father, led his forces back into Flanders; while the duke of Mayenne repaired to Rheims, in order to concert with the princes of the houſe of Lorrain, the meaſures requiſite to be purſued in ſo momentous a criſis. Their interview was not leſs ſtormy, nor their conſultation leſs diſcordant, than that of Soiſſons. At its concluſion, the chief of the League returned to Paris, where his preſence was become indiſpenſible, and where the aſpect of affairs ſeemed to portend ſome great and imminent convulſion [32].

Mayenne returns to Paris.

Henry, during theſe intereſting events, had been compelled by the dangerous machinations and intrigues of his relation, the count of Soiſſons, to viſit the provinces on the Loire. His abſence had emboldened the confederate army to beſiege Noyon, and he was not able to return with ſufficient celerity, to preſerve the place. If the ſituation of the duke of Mayenne was beſet with difficulties, his own did not demand leſs vigor, dexterity, and deciſion. Near four years had already elapſed ſince the death of his predeceſſor, without any accompliſhment on his part of the aſſurances given by him to the Catholics, at his acceſſion, that he would cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed in the doctrines of the Romiſh faith and church. Wearied with fruitleſs expectation, impoveriſhed by war, and incenſed at the infraction of ſo ſolemn an engagement; the Catholics manifeſted a general diſcontent. Reproaches and complaints were mixed with menaces, and might be followed by univerſal defection. Even the princes of the blood, diſguſted at his adherence to the reformed religion, or, allured by hopes of aſcending the throne, did not conceal their reſolution, no longer to draw their ſwords, or ſhed their blood, in the quarrel of an incorrigible heretic. His victories might inſpire terror; but, could never conciliate affection; and the mutability of

Delicate, and dangerous ſituation of Henry.

[32] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 646–649. Davila, p. 1197—1200. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 540.

fortune

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fortune might deprive him in an hour, of the fruit of ſo many battles. He beheld the States General of the kingdom met at Paris, to elect a ſovereign; and whether their choice fell on the infanta, on the duke of Mayenne, or, on any other prince; the neceſſary conſequence muſt be an interminable civil war. The Hugonots were not ſufficiently numerous, to counterbalance the vaſt weight in the oppoſite ſcale; nor could he flatter himſelf with ever attaining to a peaceable enjoyment of the crown, except by a compliance with the wiſhes of the majority of his ſubjects. Conſiderations at once ſo obvious and ſo weighty, were enforced by the animated remonſtrances of his moſt confidential ſervants; nor did thoſe of the Hugonots themſelves, who ſurveyed the king's ſituation without bigotry or prejudice, conceal from him the unavoidable neceſſity of a prompt and public converſion [33].

Motives for his abjuration.

The accompliſhment of that great and beneficial meaſure, was not a little accelerated by the reſult of the conferences at Surenne, between the Catholic nobles and prelates, of the two parties. All the exhortations of the archbiſhop of Bourges, who endeavoured to awaken ſentiments of loyalty and obedience to their legitimate prince, in the boſoms of the oppoſite faction, were ineffectual; and they unanimouſly declared their inflexible reſolution, never to acknowledge or ſubmit to a king, who, whatever was his right of deſcent, remained in open hoſtility with the Catholic church. So bold and unambiguous a declaration, when notified to Henry, produced its full effect. Shaken on every ſide, and preſſed by accumulating dangers, he no longer reſiſted; and, after a ſhort heſitation, he gave a ſolemn aſſurance to convoke an aſſembly of the moſt pious and learned eccleſiaſtics, for the purpoſe of receiving inſtruction. Such a promiſe, however equivocal, was regarded by his adherents, as amounting to the fulleſt evidence of his intention to renounce the Proteſtant

29th April. Conferences of Surenne.

16th May. Henry promiſes to receive inſtruction.

[33] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 678—683. Sully, vol. i. p. 106, 107.

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faith; and with that conviction, it was communicated to the delegates of the League, at the enſuing interview, by the archbiſhop of Bourges. He accompanied the intelligence, with a propoſal on the part of the king, for a ſuſpenſion of arms during three months, in which period, meaſures might be embraced for effecting a general peace[34].

1593. 17th May.

Conduct of the deputies of the League, on the notification.

The aſſertions of zeal for religion, which had ſo long ſerved to delude the credulous multitude, and which only concealed the private intereſt, ambition, or revenge, by which the chiefs were actuated, appeared on this occaſion in their utmoſt turpitude and deformity. Far from expreſſing any joy, or pleaſure, at ſuch a notification, the archbiſhop of Lyons, who conducted the conference on the part of the deputies of the League, received it with a mixture of ſurprize, concern, and incredulity. He even refuſed to accept from the royaliſt nobility and prelates, a written copy of the king's declaration; and demanded permiſſion to report the matter to the States General, who were alone competent to take cognizance of, and to decide relative to ſo momentous an affair[35]. In a private council, convened for the purpoſe, where the duke of Mayenne and the cardinal legate were preſent, it was fully agitated and diſcuſſed. The inevitable conſequences of Henry's converſion, were eaſily foreſeen; but, they could not be counteracted with equal facility; and its effect on the people excited the livelieſt apprehenſion. Every exertion, which malignity, ingenuity, and the ſpirit of rebellion could inſpire, were made to diminiſh its operation. Writings, calculated to call in queſtion the ſincerity of the king, and to inflame the nation, were artfully publiſhed, and diſſeminated. At the renewal of the conferences, which were transferred to the ſuburbs of Paris, the deputies of the League returned an anſwer to thoſe of the oppoſite party. After

Apprehenſions, excited by it.

5th June. Anſwer, made by the deputies of the League.

[34] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 750, 751, Davila, p. 1219, 1220. Memoires de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 158—258.

[35] Memoiresde Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 258—264.

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expreſſing their ſatisfaction at Henry's promiſed ſubmiſſion to the Catholic church, and their wiſh that his converſion might be ſincere and permanent; they, notwithſtanding, refuſed either to acknowledge, or to treat with him, till he was abſolved by the ſovereign pontiff, and liberated from the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, incurred by his apoſtacy. Nor would they even promiſe to aid the applications which might be made to the holy ſee, or to co-operate in ſuch meaſures as might be adopted, for procuring the ſpeedy reconciliation of the king with the reigning pope. The propoſed truce, though far more advantageous and neceſſary to the League, than to the crown, was finally rejected; and only a ſuſpenſion of arms, continued for a few days in the vicinity of Paris, in order to facilitate the conferences [36]. The royaliſts vainly demonſtrated, that, thus to ſubmit the rights of Henry to the arbitriment of a foreign prince, raiſed to the pontificate by the intrigues of Spain, and devoted to the intereſts of Philip the Second; was, at once to ſacrifice the independance of the monarchy, and to render France, virtually and eſſentially, a dependant fief of the ſee of Rome. Not only the franchiſes of the Gallic church, but, the kingdom itſelf were evidently abandoned, to perpetuate a civil war, the original and only pretext for which was taken away by the king's converſion. Their remonſtrances were ineffectual; and the conferences, though ſubſequently renewed, were unproductive of any change in the determination, or conduct of the chiefs of the League [37].

They reject the truce.

Conferences ineffectual.

But, whatever animoſity might be manifeſted among the devoted adherents of the duke of Mayenne, or the corrupted partizans of the court of Madrid; a ſenſible and ſalutary alteration had already taken place, and univerſally pervaded the inferior claſſes of ſociety, throughout the nation. The Pariſians, extenuated by famine, and groaning

Alteration in the ſentiments of the people.

[36] Memoires de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 264—273.

[37] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 751—755, and p. 761—772. Davila, p. 1220—1222. Memoires de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 273—317.

under

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under the accumulated ſufferings of internal oppreſſion, and external hoſtility, ardently anticipated the return of peace. They had taſted, however imperfectly, its bleſſings, during the ſhort ſuſpenſion of arms, granted to facilitate the late conferences; and that precarious truce, limited to the immediate vicinity of the capital, only augmented their impatience for a laſting concluſion of the misfortunes, to which the kingdom was ſubjected. The loyal and moderate part of the citizens began to raiſe their heads, and to elevate their tone. All the arts and machinations by which rebellion had been inculcated, and the criminal enterprizes of ambition concealed under the maſk of piety, were either exhauſted, or no longer inflamed the populace. It was in vain, that the Papal legate endeavoured to ſuſtain the declining ſpirit of ſedition, and to ſtigmatize the king's converſion as hypocritical and impious. The people, deſpiſing, or reſenting ſuch attempts, roſe in a tumultuary manner, ſurrounded the cardinal's palace, and loudly demanded the acceptance of the truce offered by Henry. Scarcely could the interpoſition of the duke of Mayenne himſelf allay the commotion, and reſtore a degree of tranquillity. It was already apparent, that the foundations of the League were ſhaken, and that the completion of Henry's promiſed return to the Catholic faith, would eventually ſubvert a fabrick, whoſe only ſolid baſis was ſuperſtition [38].

Efforts of the legate, to maintain the party of the League.

Previous to theſe tranſactions, the duke of Feria had already opened the objects of his miſſion. In a ſelect council, compoſed of deputies from the three orders of the States, held in preſence of the legate, and at which the princes of the houſe of Lorrain aſſiſted, the Spaniſh embaſſador unfolded the intentions of his maſter. After a ſolemn harangue, calculated to place in the moſt conſpicuous point of view, the eminent ſervices rendered by Philip to the cauſe of religion, and the treaſures laviſhed by him to ſupport the party of the League; he propoſed the election of the infanta, Clara Iſabella.

20th May. Feria propoſes the election of the infanta.

[38] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 772—775.

Mendoza,

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Mendoza, an advocate, verſed in the Caſtilian juriſprudence, was admitted in the aſſembly of the States General, to expatiate at greater length, on the virtues of the princeſs; and he did not omit to inſiſt on her hereditary claim to the crown, as deſcended from Henry the Second, by Elizabeth, eldeſt of the daughters of that monarch. Finding that the propoſition excited only a negative degree of applauſe, and apprehenſive that the French might be reluctant to ſubmit to a female; Taxis, another member of the embaſſy, ventured to diſcloſe the ulterior deſign of Philip, which was to beſtow the hand of the infanta upon Erneſt, arch-duke of Auſtria, her couſin. But, ſuch an alliance, far from producing approbation, or conciliating the ſuffrages of the aſſembly, tended to awaken oppoſite ſenſations; and they ſignified, without circumlocution or delay, their repugnance to the government of a foreign prince. Yet, deſirous to evince their gratitude to Philip as their benefactor and protector, the States, through the channel of their head, the duke of Mayenne, declared their readineſs to place the infanta on the throne, provided that the Catholic king, her father, would conſent to match her with a prince of France. The offer was accepted, after a ſhort heſitation, by the duke of Feria, who ſtipulated in the name of his ſovereign, to maintain the infanta in the poſſeſſion of the crown, with all the forces of the Spaniſh monarchy. He promiſed the aſſembly, that Philip would make choice of a French prince; and included by name under that denomination, thoſe of the family of Lorrain [39].

1593. 29th May. Harangue of Mendoza, and of Taxis.

22d June. Conduct of the States.

It excites ſurprize, that after ſo pointed a declaration, the embaſſadors ſhould not have divulged the name of the fortunate object of their maſter's ſelection, without loſs of time; and it is difficult to explain their delay, on any principles of policy, or maxims of ſound diſcretion. The criſis unqueſtionably demanded counſels of celerity

Imprudent delay of the Spaniards.

[39] Chron. Noven. vol. ii. p. 206, 207, and p. 213. Davila, p. 1213—1218. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 755—759, and p. 777. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 548, 549. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 162—165, and p. 171.

and

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and deciſion. Henry, not accuſtomed to remain inactive, and availing himſelf of the weakneſs of the League, had already aſſembled his forces in the vicinity of Paris. Incenſed at the rejection of the truce which he had offered; and deſirous of rendering the general wiſh for peace more ardent, by a compariſon of its enjoyments with the horrors of war; he laid ſiege to Dreux. The city was only ſixteen leagues diſtant from the capital, which was dependant on it for a great part of the proviſions, indiſpenſible towards the ſupport of its numerous inhabitants. Though the garriſon made a brave defence, and held out the citadel for more than a month, they were at length reduced to capitulate [40]. Nothing could more forcibly diſplay the inability of the duke of Mayenne to take the field, and the want of power or inclination in the Spaniſh court, to give him aſſiſtance; than their paſſive acquieſcence in the capture of a place, ſo near to the metropolis. It excited in the nation, a degree of ridicule, to ſee the States convened for the purpoſe of electing a king, while they were deſtitute of troops, or funds, for their neceſſary protection againſt a royal army, which might approach the gates, unoppoſed. Indignation and contempt were felt by the wiſe, the loyal, and the moderate, at the contemplation of the ſcene exhibited before their eyes; while Spain and the League, unable to prolong the war, and rapidly declining in ſtrength, contended for the poſſeſſion of an ideal and imaginary crown.

8th June. Siege, and capture of Dreux.

8th July.

Effects produced by it.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the parliament of Paris, which, ſince the execution of Briſſon and his colleagues, had given ſcarcely any indication of its exiſtence, ſuddenly aſſembled, to deliberate on the ſtate of public affairs. Animated by ſentiments of independance, and of attachment to their country, the members unanimouſly determined and enjoined, that an immediate remonſtrance ſhould be preſented in their name, and by their authority, to the duke of May-

Conduct of the parliament of Paris.

28th June.

[40] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 176. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 1—7. Davila, p. 1223—1225.

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enne. It breathed the ſpirit of wiſdom and of patriotiſm, untainted by ſuperſtition, and undebaſed by faction. The preſident delivered it, in a manner becoming the dignity of the aſſembly whom he repreſented. They beſought the duke, not to conſent to any treaty ſubverſive of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or calculated to transfer the ſceptre to a foreign prince, or princeſs; they reminded him of the ſanctity and majeſty of the office, delegated to him as lieutenant-general of the crown; and they annulled all agreements tending to aboliſh, or invalidate the Salic law, by which no woman could be placed on the throne of France. Notwithſtanding the real, or affected reſentment expreſſed by the chief of the League, at ſo manly and unexpected an interference; the parliament ſuſtained with firmneſs its right of remonſtrating, and was neither terrified by the menaces, nor depreſſed by the oppoſition, of the devoted adherents of Spain[41].

Their remonſtrance to Mayenne.

His reply.

During the interval of more than three weeks, which elapſed between the declaration of Philip's embaſſadors, that the Catholic king would make choice of a French prince for the huſband of the infanta, and the diſcloſure of the perſon ſelected; Paris was a theatre of intrigue, expectation, and cabal. The numerous candidates of the family of Lorrain, who devoured in hope the future diadem, counteracted each other's pretenſions, and anxiouſly ſtrove for preference, in the cabinet of Madrid. The duke of Nemours, relying on his birth, and ſtill more on his merits during the memorable ſiege of the capital, thought the crown due to his ſervices. He was oppoſed by the duke of Mayenne, who wiſhed to obtain the hand of Clara Iſabella for his ſon, the young duke of Aiguillon. A third competitor preſented himſelf in the perſon of the cardinal of Lorrain, ſecond ſon to Charles, the reigning duke; and all their claims were

Intrigues for the crown.

Competitors.

[41] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 780—787. Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 173—175. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 550, 551. Davila, p. 1231—1233.

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loſt in the ſuperior merits of the duke of Guiſe, who pleaded his father's ſufferings, and who inherited his courage and ambition, together with the adherence of the moſt zealous partizans of the League [42].

14th July. Feria names the duke of Guiſe.

Philip's emiſſaries at length broke the ſilence, in which they had ſo injudiciouſly perſiſted. At a council, held for the purpoſe, the duke of Feria produced the powers entruſted to him, and declared that his ſovereign's choice had fallen on the duke of Guiſe. He propoſed, that the crown ſhould be jointly conferred on him and the Spaniſh princeſs: he accompanied the demand with every ſtipulation, which could ſecure the liberties of the nation; and he added aſſurances of ſuch effectual pecuniary and military ſupport on the part of the Catholic king, as muſt ſpeedily extinguiſh all oppoſition. Mortified at the preference given to his nephew, indignant at the conduct of Philip, and determined not to lay down the power of which he was in poſſeſſion; the duke of Mayenne, neverthelefs, diſſembled his chagrin. He even returned his acknowledgments to the Spaniſh monarch, for the honor done to the houſe of Lorrain, in the perſon of the duke of Guiſe; and promiſed to give the propoſition his warmeſt ſupport in the aſſembly of the States. Baſſompierre, the miniſter of the duke of Lorrain to the League, dextrouſly obtained a delay of a few days, under the pretence of informing his maſter of a piece of intelligence ſo important; and the interval was not loſt by the duke of Mayenne. Already, in the anticipation of his certain and approaching elevation, the young duke of Guiſe beheld himſelf ſurrounded with a numerous court: while the lieutenant-general of the crown, whoſe authority was conſidered as nearly extinct, attracted no longer any followers, and was almoſt univerſally abandoned. The Spaniards were even accuſed of inſpiring the future king elect, with ſentiments of revenge againſt his uncle,

Conduct, and delays of Mayenne.

[42] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 778, 779. Davila, p. 1218.

as the only obſtacle to his greatneſs; and of propoſing to Guiſe his aſſaſſination [43].

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He counteracts the Spaniſh miniſters.

Their imaginary triumph was of ſhort duration; and the influence of the duke of Mayenne in the aſſembly of the States, ſpeedily ſubverted the fine-ſpun machinations of the cabinet of Madrid. After having vainly endeavoured to induce the embaſſadors, to poſtpone to a more favorable juncture, their intention of filling the throne; he attempted to work upon the duke of Guiſe himſelf. He demonſtrated to that young and ambitious prince, the futility and inanity of thoſe expectations, which he had ſo eagerly imbibed; and he earneſtly beſought of his nephew, not to advance further in the proſecution of a plan, which muſt be equally ruinous to himſelf, to his family, and to the League. But, the viſion of a crown had rendered him inſenſible, or deaf to every admonition, though he liſtened with decent reſpect to his uncle's remonſtrances; and Mayenne, repulſed in both his applications, determined finally to appeal to the States. His perſonal authority and weight in the aſſembly, enabled him to counteract all oppoſition, and to procure the indirect rejection of the late propoſal. By a conſiderable majority, it was decided, humbly to return their acknowledgments to the Catholic king, for his gracious declaration; to aſſure him of their readineſs to accept it, and to raiſe to the throne the duke of Guiſe and the infanta, at a more propitious period: but, that, from the recent ſucceſs of the enemy before Dreux, and the defenceleſs ſtate of the League, the accompliſhment of it muſt be deferred. They concluded, by entreating that the forces of Philip might ſpeedily advance, in order to facilitate and accelerate the election. Diſappointed as were the Spaniſh embaſſadors at ſo humiliating a reply; ſenſible of the quarter from whence the blow was dealt; and conſcious that all their hopes were deſtroyed in the moment of their expected completion; they yet

20th July. The States poſtpone the election of a king.

[43] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 551, 552. Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 177, 178. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 7—11. Davila, p. 1226.

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Behaviour of the embaſſadors of Philip.

preſerved a ſteady gravity. In temperate and moderate language, they lamented that the States had not embraced the only expedient, calculated to terminate the calamities of France; but, they ſtill promiſed the protection and aid of their maſter, provided that no truce was made with the king of Navarre [44].

Reflexions on the election of a king by the States.

It ſeems to admit of ſcarcely any doubt, that the habitual and inſurmountable ſlowneſs of the Spaniſh miniſters, was fatal to the object of the negotiation. If, inſtead of protracting and concealing the duke of Guiſe's election, they had named him at an earlier period, they muſt have ſucceeded in raiſing him to the throne. The duke of Mayenne, detained before Noyon, and at Rheims, was not maſter of the deliberations and ſuffrages of the States, on his firſt arrival in the metropolis [45]. On the other hand, Henry, whatever promiſes he had made to abjure the reformed religion, remained ſtill unreconciled to the Romiſh church; and ſuch was the indignation, or wearineſs of the Catholic nobility in his ſervice, that if the duke of Guiſe had been then declared king, it was not queſtioned, that he would have been joined and ſupported by all the royaliſts attached to the antient faith [46]. Under theſe circumſtances, Philip might have placed the crown on the head of his daughter; and a new dynaſty of princes might have ariſen on the extinction of the Capetian line. The Hugonots alone, could neither have raiſed, nor have maintained the king of Navarre on the French throne; and his abjuration would have been made too late, to produce a beneficial effect. The houſe of Auſtria would have reigned over Europe, from the Atlantic ocean, almoſt uninterruptedly to the confines of Turkey; and from the coaſt of Morocco, to the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Britiſh channel. Philip, after recently ſubjecting Portugal and all

[44] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 22—25. Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 178, 179. Davila, p. 1227—1231. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 552, 553.

[45] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 546, 547.

[46] Ibid. vol. ix. p. 541, 542, and p. 549, 550.

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its colonies in the two hemiſpheres; would have beheld France voluntarily ſubmit to his empire, and in violation of the Salic law, conſent to ſubſtitute a woman in place of their native princes. The faireſt portion of Europe might have groaned under Caſtilian tyranny; and the chimæra of a univerſal monarchy, been, in ſome meaſure, realized.

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Happily for mankind, theſe pernicious ſchemes of ambition were overturned; and the attention of the French, which had ſo long been directed to the cabals of a popular aſſembly, or the machinations of faction, was more pleaſingly attracted by a ſpectacle of a different nature. The king prepared at length to conſummate the promiſed change of his religion, and thereby to extinguiſh the great ſource of rebellion and inſurrection. Every preparatory circumſtance, which could add decency and dignity to the act, or tend to impreſs the nation with a ſenſe of his ſincerity and conviction, was carefully obſerved. Theologians, and divines of all deſcriptions, even from among the moſt furious, or zealous adherents of the League, were exhorted and ſummoned to attend. Several of the latter aſſiſted, in defiance of the anathemas of the legate, and the prohibitions of the duke of Mayenne. Henry liſtened with patient and docile ſubmiſſion, to their inſtructions and admonitions, during many hours, in repeated conferences. He had expreſſed the greateſt doubts upon three eſſential articles of faith; auricular confeſſion; the invocation of ſaints; and the ſpiritual authority of the papal ſee. Having heard the arguments adduced in their defence or juſtification, he roſe up, and thanked the eccleſiaſtics for their pious exertions, as well as for the lights which they had given him: he added, that after having invoked the divine aſſiſtance, he would determine ſeriouſly on taking a final reſolution, ſalutary to himſelf, and to the ſtate[47]. Some objections, made by the cardinal of Bourbon, to

Henry prepares to abjure the reformed religion.

Conferences on matters of faith.

23d July.

[47] Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 180, 181. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 30, 31. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 221, 222.

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the competency of any power except the pope, to abſolve the king, and to receive him into the boſom of the Romiſh church, were overruled. Ambition, and not piety, had dictated the ſcruples of that factious prelate; who ſtill retained hopes of aſcending the throne, either by the aſſiſtance of the duke of Mayenne, diſguſted with Spain; or, by the efforts of the bigotted Catholics. But, his faint oppoſition, and impotent malignity, excited only contempt: while the nation at large anticipated Henry's return to the Papal obedience, as the ſignal and ſeal of future felicity[48].

Oppoſition of the cardinal of Bourbon.

25th July. Abjuration of the king, at St. Denis.

The neceſſary preparations having been made for celebrating with dignity and ſolemnity, ſo auguſt a ceremony, Henry, unable to make his abjuration at Paris, choſe for the ſcene of it, the abbey of St. Denis. On the day appointed, he preſented himſelf, habited in white, before the portal of the church, accompanied by the princes of the blood, nobility, and gentry, followed by the guards ſuperbly accoutred. The archbiſhop of Bourges, ſeated, and ſurrounded by a number of prelates, met him at his entrance. Holding in his hands a book of the goſpels open, he demanded of Henry who he was, and the nature of his errand. "I am the king," replied he, "who "deſire to be received into the boſom of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, "and Romiſh church." Throwing himſelf on his knees, he then proteſted to live and die in its defence, and to renounce all hereſies contrary to its doctrines. Having ſigned his profeſſion of faith, and made confeſſion, the archbiſhop adminiſtered to him abſolution. Maſs was ſolemnized, at which the king aſſiſted, under a canopy of ſtate; and after its concluſion, he returned, amidſt the joyful acclamations of an immenſe multitude, to the monaſtery of St. Denis, where he dined in public. Money was ſcattered among the populace; and, notwithſtanding the manifeſt danger of aſſaſſination, Henry admitted indiſcriminately every one to approach his perſon. It was

Ceremony, and ſolemnities.

[48] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 25, 26, and p. 30.

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in vain, that the duke of Mayenne iſſued the moſt rigorous orders, to prevent the inhabitants of Paris from being preſent at the ceremony, and cauſed the gates of the capital to be kept ſhut. Nor were even the declamations of the preachers, whoſe influence over the people had been ſo unlimited, able to reſtrain their curioſity and loyalty. They attended in ſuch numbers, as to exceed thoſe of the royal party, and joined in the univerſal teſtimonies of joy and exultation. It was evident, that from the moment of Henry's abjuration, the foundation of the League was ſapped; and that only time and exertion were neceſſary, to reclaim the deluded followers of ſuperſtition and faction [49].

Its beneficial conſequences.

If we examine the act itſelf, by the rules or maxims of policy, we muſt pronounce it to have been dictated by neceſſity, and replete with wiſdom. In a moral view, it was productive of happineſs to a great portion of mankind, and tended more than any other circumſtance, to ſhorten, and finally to extinguiſh the calamities of civil war. As a private caſe of conſcience, it does not belong to hiſtory, and can only be amenable to a higher juriſdiction. The zealous adherents of the reformed religion, his contemporaries, naturally conſidered it as a meaſure of ſtate, in which truth, ſincerity, and principle, had been ſacrificed to views of convenience, or motives of ambition [50]. But, poſterity, more juſt, more enlightened, and more impartial, has weighed the action in other ſcales; and acquitted, if not applauded, Henry. Even many of the Hugonots themſelves, negatively admitted its propriety, and deſired, or advanced its accompliſhment [51]. At the king's expreſs requeſt, the profeſſion of faith, tendered to him at St. Denis, was conceived in general and indefinite terms; omitting all thoſe dogmas, and points of polemical theology, calcu-

Examination of, and reflexions on the act.

[49] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 222—224. Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 181—184. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 553—555. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 32—35. Davila, p. 1236, 1237.

[50] Memoires d'Aubigné, p. 136, and p. 138. Vie de du Pleſſis Mornay, p. 195—198.

[51] Davila, p. 1184.

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lated rather to embarraſs and obſcure, than to illuminate his mind [52]. It is matter of curious remark, that the ſcruples or doubts of Henry, were more directed to the minor articles of the Romiſh creed, than to the great and moſt eſſential ones. He heſitated on three points of inferior conſequence; but, when the ſacrament of the altar, or tranſubſtantiation, was agitated, which includes the doctrine of the real preſence in the elements of bread and wine; he ſaid to the prelates, "I have no doubt upon this head; for I have always ſo "believed [53]."

31ſt July. Truce made between Henry, and the League.

The king's abjuration was followed in a few days, by a truce for three months, agreed on between the deputies of the royal party, and thoſe of the League. All the clamors of the legate, and the oppoſition of the Spaniſh embaſſadors, could neither prevent, nor retard its completion. Neceſſity and inability pleaded in favor of the duke of Mayenne; who was deſtitute of every means to continue the war, and beheld the only ſolid pretext for its proſecution, withdrawn by Henry's return into the Catholic church [54]. In this ſituation, he again renewed his alliance with the court of Madrid, and promiſed never to acknowledge the king's title, under any circumſtances. Philip ſtipulated on his part, to march, without delay, a conſiderable army to his aid. Mutual diſtreſs cemented the confederation, and animated them to new efforts for ſuſtaining the League [55].

Mayenne renews his alliance with Spain.

Prorogation of the States General.

As the States General were no longer neceſſary, and as the project of electing a king was poſtponed to an uncertain period, it was judged proper to diſmiſs the aſſembly. Though nominally prorogued only to the enſuing month of October, they were virtually

8th Auguſt.

diſſolved. Previous to their diſmiſſion, an oath was tendered, and

[52] Vie de du Pleſſis, p. 198. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 554.

[53] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 222.

[54] Mem. de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 320—351.

[55] Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 185, 186. Davila, p. 1237. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 226—229.

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taken by the deputies, binding themſelves to obey implicitly the decrees and deciſions of the holy ſee, in all matters relating to hereſy. It was vainly hoped, by ſo frail an engagement, to prop the declining cauſe of rebellion; and as the convocation of the States might again become requiſite, the Spaniſh monarch retained, at his own expence, conſiderable number of the members, who continued at Paris till its final ſubmiſſion to their legitimate ſovereign [56].

[56] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 35—38. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 229—233. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 185—188. Mem. de Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 352—368.

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State of France, after the king's abjuration.—Embaſſy to Rome.—Siezure of Barriere.—Effects of the truce.—Situation of Mayenne.—Ill ſucceſs of Nevers, at Rome.—Decline of the League.—Submiſſion of various cities, to Henry.—His coronation.—Briſſac, made governor of Paris.—He treats with the king.—Reduction of Paris.—Meaſures, embraced by Henry, for the reſtoration of order, in the metropolis.—Rouen returns to its allegiance.—Mayenne repairs to Bruſſels.—Syſtem of Philip the Second.—Siege, and capture of Laön.—State of affairs in Burgundy.—Hoſtilities in Brittany.—Tranſactions in Provence, and in Savoy.—Submiſſion of the duke of Guiſe.—Attempt of Chatel, to aſſaſſinate the king.—Baniſhment of the Jeſuits.—Henry declares war on Spain.—Death of the duke of Nemours.—Revolt of Burgundy from Mayenne.—Henry repairs to Dijon.—Combat of Fontaine Françoiſe.—Mayenne quits the Spaniards.—Return of the king to Lyons.—Truce with Mayenne.

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1593. Auguſt. Effect of the truce,

THE effect, produced on the minds of the French nation, by the late events, which had ſucceeded each other with ſuch rapidity, was neceſſarily proportioned to their magnitude and importance. Nothing could more clearly and forcibly demonſtrate the miſunderſtanding, or, rather alienation, ſubſiſting between the head of the League, and the court of Spain, than the tranſactions of the States General. That aſſembly, convoked for the expreſs purpoſe of filling the vacant throne; had not only expreſſed their unanimous indignation, at the propoſal of chuſing the arch-duke Erneſt: they had poſtponed to a diſtant and uncertain period, the leſs odious propoſition, of conferring

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ferring the crown on the infanta, jointly with a prince of the houſe of Lorrain. The truce, recently concluded between the king and the duke of Mayenne, could not fail to be productive of a great and general change, in the diſpoſitions of every order of men. Paris, long ſubjected to all the calamities of famine, beheld itſelf in a ſtate of temporary freedom, and emancipation. The inhabitants, immured within the walls of a deſerted and depopulated capital, eagerly embraced the occaſion of breathing a purer air, and of reviſiting their deſolated eſtates, or poſſeſſions. Henry's character, as it became more fully known, inſpired equal attachment and veneration. The courteſy of his manners; the facility with which he admitted the meaneſt individuals to approach, and accoſt him; the liberality which he diſplayed in relieving their wants; and the compaſſionate ſympathy that he ſhewed for their ſufferings, of which he was the involuntary cauſe: theſe unequivocal teſtimonies of beneficence, made a deep, and univerſal impreſſion. His recent abjuration, which had been conducted with every circumſtance, calculated to give ſolemnity to the act, and to imprint on the minds of the Catholics an opinion of the king's ſincerity; in a great degree, diſarmed the League, and deprived its adherents of their laſt ſupport [1].

and of the king's conduct.

Senſible, nevertheleſs, that while he was ſtill unabſolved from the Papal cenſures, the bigotted, and the diſaffected part of the nation, could never want a pretext for rebellion; Henry determined not to loſe a moment, in attempting to effect his reconciliation with the Apoſtolic ſee. Louis de Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, was ſelected to carry the aſſurances of his filial obedience, and contrition, to the feet of the ſovereign pontiff. His near alliance with, and deſcent from the reigning houſe of Mantua; his Italian origin; together with his age, character, and ability, rendered him peculiarly adapted for negociating in the court of Rome. Several prelates, eminent for virtue

He ſends the duke of Nevers, to Rome.

[1] Davila, p. 1241, 1242.

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and loyalty, or diſtinguiſhed by talents and eloquence, were aſſociated with him in ſo delicate and arduous a commiſſion. They began their journey without delay; while the king, improving the favorable occaſion of tranquillity, advanced his cauſe not leſs by the ſilent exertions of his partizans, than he had done during the continuance of open hoſtilities, by activity and valor. Remaining perſonally in the vicinity of the metropolis, attentive to every movement in the interior of Paris, and ready to avail himſelf of any event, which might facilitate, or accelerate its ſurrender; he waited with patience and confidence, for the effect of that fermentation, with which the capital and the kingdom were equally agitated [2].

Deſign of Barriere.

Theſe flattering appearances were, nevertheleſs, on the point of being clouded by one of thoſe atrocious attempts, which peculiarly characterize the period of the civil wars of France; and to which Henry became ultimately a victim. A man, of the loweſt deſcription, named Barriere, impelled by a ſpirit of gloomy and ſanguinary fanaticiſm, conceived the deſign of aſſaſſinating the king. In order to execute it, he ſet out from Lyons, croſſed all the intermediate provinces between that city and Paris, arrived at St. Denis, and followed the court to Melun, with intent to ſtrike the blow. Fortunately, the ſcruples which aroſe in his mind, relative to the moral rectitude of the act, had induced him to communicate his reſolution to various eccleſiaſtics. One of them, after having expreſſed his diſapprobation of ſo flagitious a purpoſe, finding that Barriere remained inflexible; contrived to anticipate its execution, by ſending intelligence of it to the king. He was ſeized, interrogated, and put to death: but, his puniſhment did not deter others from ſimilar enterprizes, which were encouraged by the genius of the century, and fomented by the zealous adherents of the League [3].

[2] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 38, 39. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 556. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 233, 234.

[3] Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. 190, 191. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 49—52. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 238—241. Davila, p. 1262—1264.

Through-

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Throughout all the provinces of France, a temporary ceſſation of hoſtilities had taken place, in conſequence of the truce between Henry and Mayenne. The duke of Mercœur, who was occupied in the ſiege of Moncontour, deſiſted from its further proſecution; as did the royaliſts, from the attack of Poitiers. Even in the centre of the Alps, the operations of war were ſuſpended. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, voluntarily accepted the armiſtice; of which, from the declining ſtate of his affairs, he ſtood in the greateſt need. He had already renounced his expectations of ſubjecting Provence, where the inconſtancy of the people, and the progreſs of the duke of Epernon, ſcarcely left him any acquiſition. In Dauphiné, Leſdiguieres not only repelled his invaſion; but, that active commander, transferring the ſeat of war into his own dominions, defeated a conſiderable body of Spaniards, and at length reduced the duke to abandon all his views of conqueſt [a].

1593. Suſpenſion of hoſtilities, in the provinces.

While, in every quarter, the aſpect of Henry's affairs promiſed a ſpeedy and fortunate concluſion of the war, the duke of Mayenne was beſet with augmenting difficulties, from which it appeared almoſt impoſſible to extricate himſelf with honor. On all ſides, he beheld either ſecret defection, or open revolt. The miniſters of Philip the Second loaded him with reproaches; and that prince himſelf regarded him with diſtruſt. The pontifical treaſury was ſhut; and, far from imitating the example of Gregory the Fourteenth, his predeceſſor, Clement began to betray a ſecret inclination to withdraw from the League, even his ſpiritual ſupport. Paris manifeſted alarming ſymptoms of a diſpoſition to change its maſter, and could with difficulty be retained in ſubjection by Mayenne. Even the princes of his own family were diſunited, and divided in opinion. The duke of Lorrain, weary of the war, and anxious to prevent the paſſage of new armies through his territories, inclined to embrace pacific meaſures.

Embarraſſment of Mayenne.

[a] Vie de Leſdigu. p. 139—145. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 557—560. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 56—72. Guichenon. Hiſt. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 741—746.

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ſures. The duke of Mercœur ſcarcely owned any ſubjection, or acted in any concert with the party. Henry, duke of Guiſe, conſcious that his uncle had impoſed inſuperable obſtacles to the propoſed marriage of the infanta, and to his elevation to the throne; only obſerved the external forms of reſpect towards a relation, whom he conſidered as a rival and an enemy. In Lyons, the duke of Nemours threw off all reſtraint, and diſplayed his intention of erecting an independant principality on the banks of the Rhone. Seduced by the maxims of Machiavel, and intoxicated with proſpects of ambition; he endeavoured to render himſelf maſter of the provinces, which extend from the borders of Dauphiné to thoſe of Auvergne, in the richeſt part of France. Lyons was deſtined to be the capital of this new ſovereignty, and he had already ſurrounded the city with forts and garriſons, in order to awe the inhabitants. His ill-digeſted and chimerical plans were ſpeedily ſubverted by the revolt of the people; who, ſecretly ſtimulated by the duke of Mayenne, ſeized on Nemours, confined, and detained him in the caſtle of Pierre Enciſe. Little benefit accrued, nevertheleſs, to the head of the League, from his brother's impriſonment; as the inhabitants, liberated from the tyranny of their governor, maintained themſelves in a ſtate of independance, till their final ſubmiſſion to the king[5].

21ſt September.

Impriſonment of the duke of Nemours.

Preſſed by ſo many misfortunes, the duke of Mayenne ſolicited, and obtained, not without difficulty and repugnance on the part of Henry, a prolongation of the truce for two months. The attention of both parties was turned to the event of the duke of Nevers's embaſſy, on which alone depended the duration of the League. That prince, previous to his arrival in the Papal territories, received the moſt ſpecific notification of the ill ſucceſs, with which his exertions would be accompanied. His reception at Rome was cold, and unbecoming the majeſty of the ſovereign whom he repreſented. All

October.

Truce prolonged.

November.

[5] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 53—56. Davila, p. 1253—1255. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 242—249. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 562, 563.

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his arguments, entreaties, and expoſtulations, made no impreſſion on the mind of the pontiff, and were ineffectual to induce him to revoke the excommunication of the king of France. After many weeks of fruitleſs and reiterated application, Nevers, indignant at a treatment ſo unbecoming the character of the head and paſtor of the Chriſtian world, quitted Rome, and ſet out on his return. It cannot, nevertheleſs, admit of a doubt, that the reluctance of Clement to receive Henry into the communion of the Catholic church, was involuntary and aſſumed. He was ſurrounded by the cardinals of the Spaniſh faction, and he dreaded the reſentment of ſo powerful a prince as Philip the Second. The cauſe of the League was ſo artfully implicated with the intereſts of religion, as to appear almoſt inſeparable. Henry's converſion might be feigned, or temporary; and it became the dignity, as well as the decorum of the Apoſtolic ſee, to proceed with caution and circumſpection, in ſo momentous a concern. Clement demonſtrated by his ſubſequent conduct, that, when fully juſtified in his proceeding, he was neither politically, nor perſonally inimical to the king of France [6].

1593. Ill ſucceſs of Nevers, at Rome.

But, however unſucceſsful Henry's embaſſador had been in his negotiation at Rome, no efforts of the duke of Mayenne, nor of Philip the Second, could prolong the exiſtence, or prop the declining cauſe of faction and rebellion. The nation, exhauſted by many years of civil war, impatiently deſired the return of peace; and the vaſt fabrick of the League, formed by the indolent puſillanimity of Henry the Third, cemented by the blood of the princes of Guiſe, and perpetuated by ambition, under the maſk of religion, began to diſſolve under its own weight. The diſcordant, and heterogeneous materials of which it was compoſed, were no longer held together by any common principle of union. The aſſiſtance of Spain was precarious, uncertain, and diſtant; while the danger was imminent and im-

December. Cauſes of the declenſion of the League.

[6] Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 405—433. Davila, p. 1243—1253. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 74—98. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 251—267; and vol. iii. p. 310—316.

mediate.

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mediate. Henry, conſcious of his own ſtrength, and aware of the weakneſs of his enemies, refuſed to liſten to the overtures for a further prolongation of the truce. Already, various of the places, which had manifeſted the greateſt devotion to the duke of Mayenne, abandoned him in the decline of his fortune, and made terms of compoſition with the king. Feſcamp, on the coaſt of Normandy, led the way; and its voluntary ſurrender was followed by the more important ſubmiſſion of Cambray. Balagny, who commanded in the city with abſolute authority, after the death of the duke of Alenſon, by whom it was originally captured from the Spaniards; had maintained himſelf ſince that time, in a ſpecies of independance, and projected to tranſmit the Cambreſis to his poſterity, as a fief, or principality, relieving only of the crown of France. Henry, deſirous to ſecure, on any terms, ſo valuable a place, which might afford him an eaſy entrance into Flanders; granted Balagny the moſt favorable and ample conditions [7].

Submiſſion of Balagny.

The ſpirit of loyalty and obedience, which had been ſo long extinct, ſeemed to awake in every part of the kingdom; and it was ſtrengthened by the facility of obtaining from the crown, in its preſent ſtate of weakneſs, any demand, however extravagant. Vitry, who had given the firſt, and almoſt the only example of defection in the royal army, after the aſſaſſination of Henry the Third; exhibited one of the earlieſt proofs of allegiance. Irritated by the detention of the ſums due to him, and no longer apprehenſive for the ſafety of the Catholic religion, ſince the king's abjuration; he openly quitted the party of the League, and induced the inhabitants of Meaux to expel the troops of Mayenne. That city, from its poſition on the river Marne, and its vicinity to Paris, encreaſed the diſtreſs of the metropolis, and accelerated its eventual ſurrender. Scarcely could the preſence and exertions of the chief of the League, prevent the effects

Vitry returns to his allegiance.

24th December.

[7] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 563. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 268, 269.

of ſo contagious a ſpirit, or quell the diſcontents of the parliament, which body manifeſted, in unambiguous terms, a diſpoſition to receive the king. Apprehenſive that the count de Belin, governor of Paris, was ſecretly inclined towards the ſame meaſure, Mayenne, regardleſs of the remonſtrances, or entreaties of the Pariſians, deprived him of his poſt. At the recommendation of the Spaniſh miniſters, he confided that important charge to Briſſac, on whoſe fidelity they thought that they might rely with implicit confidence. The event proved, that they were deceived in their ſelection [8]. From the ſhore of the Mediterranean, to the bank of the Loire, Henry received the moſt flattering teſtimonies of ſubmiſſion. Aix, capital of Provence, inveſted by the forces of Epernon, declared itſelf in the obedience of the crown; and the inhabitants of Lyons having called to their aſſiſtance Ornano, proclaimed the king with acclamations. La Chatre, who commanded in Orleans, aſſembled the inhabitants, and ſoon diſpoſed them to return to their allegiance. The voluntary ſurrender of a place, which, by its example, had greatly influenced the conduct of the Pariſians, in their original revolt from Henry the Third; and which was the only paſſage acroſs the Loire left to the League, produced the moſt beneficial conſequences to the royal affairs. Animated with the ſame ſpirit, the province of Berry, and Bourges, the capital, abandoned the duke of Mayenne [9].

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3d January.

25th January. Submiſſion of various places.

17th February.

Anxious to avail himſelf of the favorable change in the diſpoſitions of the people, and deſirous to augment their veneration for his perſon and dignity, Henry determined to cauſe his coronation to be performed without delay. Preſcription, ſo forcible in its empire over the minds of men, had confined excluſively to Rheims, for ſeveral centuries, the ceremony of conſecrating the French kings; and the vial, which contained the ſacred oil, uſed in anointing them, was

Coronation of the king.

[8] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 295, 296.

[9] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 107—123. Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 272—276; and vol. iii. p. 295—310. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 1—5. Davila, p. 1264—1268. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 199, 200, and p. 212—219.

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preſerved in that city. But, as Rheims ſtill continued to adhere to the League, it became indiſpenſable to ſelect another place for the ſolemnity. After mature deliberation, Chartres was preferred; and a vial, whoſe origin was no leſs ſupernatural, and the virtues, attributed to which, were equally miraculous, was obtained from the abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours. The ceremony was conducted with all the magnificence, becoming the occaſion [10].

27th February.

State of Paris.

Undermined by internal diſaffection, and attacked by external violence, the duke of Mayenne began to experience in its utmoſt extent, the inſtability of fortune. All his exertions, aided by the largeſſes of Spain, and ſupported by a foreign garriſon of Walloons, Neapolitans, and Germans, whom he introduced into Paris; could not ſuſtain his declining cauſe, nor protract the ſubmiſſion of the capital to its lawful ſovereign. Repeatedly warned, that Briſſac, the new governor, was already negotiating to deliver up the place to Henry, he deſpiſed, or neglected the admonition. His preſence continued to impoſe ſome reſtraint, and to awe the loyal part of the inhabitants. But, no ſooner had the neceſſity of concerting the operations of the approaching campaign, compelled him to quit the capital, than his abſence facilitated its ſurrender. The enterprize was, nevertheleſs, arduous, dangerous, and uncertain. Briſſac was ſurrounded with ſpies, who watched all his motions with jealous ſuſpicion, and whoſe vigilance no diſſimulation could circumvent. The duke of Feria, and his colleagues, retained by continual diſtributions of money, a great number of adherents among the inferior claſſes of the people, who were devoted to Philip the Second. That monarch was aided by the cardinal legate, by the declamations of the eccleſiaſtics, and by the remains of the powerful faction of the "ſixteen," which had been humbled, but, not extinguiſhed, by the duke of Mayenne [11].

6th March. Mayenne quits the capital.

[10] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 317—332. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 123—129. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 220—222.

[11] Davila, p. 1280. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 7, 8. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 297.

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In defiance of these impediments, Briſſac, having previouſly ſtipulated, for the preſervation of all the privileges of the capital, for the pardon and oblivion of every offence committed againſt the late, or preſent government, and for the unmoleſted retreat of the foreign troops ſtationed in Paris; agreed to admit the royal forces into the place. Henry, induced not more by the clemency of his character, than by policy and wiſdom, to prevent the effuſion of blood, and the pillage of the metropolis; readily conſented to every demand. It only remained, to conceal the deſign till the moment of its execution, and to lull the apprehenſions of thoſe, who were intereſted to betray, or to oppoſe the meaſure. Having communicated his intention to ſuch members of the parliament of Paris, as he knew to be devoted to the crown, and on whoſe co-operation he could confide; a day was fixed for opening the gates, by Briſſac. Henry, favoured by the night, advanced at the head of his army, and appeared in the ſuburbs. The wiſe precautions, embraced by the governor, for ſecuring the completion of his project, were aided by the interpoſition of fortune. Before any meaſures for oppoſing by force, the entry of the king, could be concerted; or executed on the part of the Spaniards; the troops had ſilently entered Paris, ſeized on the principal avenues, and rendered themſelves maſters of the arſenal, the Louvre, and the bridges. Scarcely any attempt at reſiſtance was made, except by a body of German Landſquenets, whom marſhal Matignon cauſed to be attacked, and put to the ſword. The Neapolitans and Walloons remained motionleſs in their quarters, and were paſſive ſpectators of ſo vaſt, and important a tranſaction.

Briſſac treats with the king.

Royal troops, admitted.

22d March.

In the midſt of this extraordinary ſcene, which reſembled rather the peaceful ſpectacle of a triumphal entry, than the reduction of a rebellious capital, Henry advanced, and was met by Briſſac, who preſented him the keys of Paris. He was rewarded with almoſt every mark of

Entrance of Henry into Paris.

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favour, or gratitude, which ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſervice merited. The king, continuing his progreſs, through an immenſe multitude of aſtoniſhed and loyal inhabitants, who rent the air with acclamations; proceeded ſtrait to the cathedral of "Notre Dame," in order to return his acknowledgments to Heaven, for the ſignal protection extended towards him on that memorable occaſion. So admirable were the regulations laid down for the preſervation of public tranquillity, and ſuch was the exactitude with which they were purſued, that no popular commotion, nor act of violence, took place. Henry, attentive not only to the obligations of honor and treaty, but, to the attentions of courteſy and gallantry; ſent to aſſure the Papal legate, as well as the ducheſſes of Nemours and Montpenſier, that their perſons and property were under his immediate ſafeguard. The citizens, recovering from their apprehenſions, and no longer actuated by the dread of being expoſed to the fury of a licentious ſoldiery, reſumed their ordinary employments; and Paris exhibited, in the courſe of the ſame day, the ſingular and oppoſite appearance, of a city entered by hoſtile forces, and of a peaceful and well-ordered metropolis.

Diſmiſſion of the Spaniſh troops.

It was only neceſſary to diſmiſs the Spaniſh miniſters and troops, in order to complete the ſplendor of the acquiſition. Immediate intimation was conveyed, on the part of the king, to the duke of Feria, that no obſtacle ſhould be oppoſed to his evacuation of the city, with the forces under his command; and that their march to the frontiers ſhould be unmoleſted. The intelligence was gladly received by Philip's general, and he began his retreat on the afternoon of the ſame day. Henry was preſent in perſon, when the Spaniards, to the number of three thouſand, paſſed out of the gate of St. Denis. He ſaluted them with his accuſtomed courteſy, and charged the duke of Feria to carry his recommendations to the Catholic king; but, he accompanied it with his injunctions, to return no more to Paris. It was hardly poſſible to imagine a circumſtance more flattering

flattering to the French, or more humiliating to the Spaniſh monarch [12].

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Du Bourg, who commanded in the Baſtile, exhibited a rare example of fidelity and adherence to the duke of Mayenne, by refuſing either to ſurrender, or to ſell, the fortreſs entruſted to his care. He even made ſome preparations for reſiſtance: but, conſcious that he could neither long defend himſelf, nor expect to be ſuccoured, he capitulated after a few days, on honorable terms. The caſtle of Vincennes, in the immediate vicinity of Paris, followed the example [13]. Henry, by ſo rapid and fortunate a ſeries of events, become maſter of the capital, loſt not an inſtant in endeavoring to reſtore tranquillity, to revive the obedience due to the laws, and to obliterate the memory of the paſt tranſactions. The parliament, which had given many proofs of loyalty to the crown, even under the moſt adverſe circumſtances, and which had ſuffered ſeverely from the tyranny of the "council of "ſixteen;" was re-eſtabliſhed in its authority, privileges, and juriſdiction. In conſequence of the king's facility, or clemency, the edict was verified and carried into execution, without waiting for the return of the fugitive members, who had followed his fortune, and held their ſittings at Tours, ſince the inſurrection of the Pariſians, under the preceding reign. Grateful for ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of favor and protection, the parliament repaid it by coming to the ſtrongeſt reſolutions, declaratory of their abhorrence and deteſtation of the proceedings of the League. They expreſsly revoked and annulled the powers delegated to the duke of Mayenne, as lieutenant-general of the crown; enjoined him, on pain of treaſon, to acknowledge Henry the Fourth; and aboliſhed every act of the pretended aſſembly of the States General,

Baſtile, ſurrendered.

Reſtoration of the parliament.

30th March.

[12] Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 223—227; and tom. ii. p. 1—5. Sully, vol. i. p. 138—140. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 138—142. Davila, p. 1280—1284. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 334—343. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 8—12. D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. vol, iii. p. 334—337.

[13] Chron. Noven. vol. iii. p. 342, and p. 343, 344.

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neral, as the criminal machinations of rebels, devoted to the court of Madrid [14].

1594. Act of indemnity, and oblivion.

Theſe reſolutions had been preceded by an edict of amneſty and indemnity to the Pariſians, couched in the moſt comprehenſive terms, and including the pardon or remiſſion of every fault committed by them, ſince the commencement of the troubles. Henry's magnanimity diſdained to puniſh even the eccleſiaſtics, accuſed of exciting Barriere to aſſaſſinate him; and he permitted them to withdraw, unmoleſted, under the protection of the cardinal legate [15]. Such was the impotent, and inextinguiſhable enmity of many of the zealous preachers of the League, that even the ruin of their party, and the terror of puniſhment, could not impoſe a reſtraint on their conduct. They continued to declaim againſt the king, to refuſe abſolution to ſuch as acknowledged his title, and to excite the people anew to ſedition. It became neceſſary to embrace ſome meaſure for the ſuppreſſion of an evil, which might, in a capital recently ſubjected, and among minds ſuſceptible of the moſt violent impreſſions, be productive of freſh commotions. Orders were, therefore, iſſued, and billets delivered, to about fifty of the moſt intractable partizans of Spain and the League, enjoining them to quit the city without delay. But, in this ſingle violation, if ſuch it can with propriety be termed, of the articles ſtipulated on the part of Briſſac, the utmoſt attention to the ſafety and protection of every individual was obſerved. They were furniſhed with paſſports, preſerved from violence, and admitted either to take the oaths of allegiance and ſubmiſſion to the government, or, in caſe of refuſal, to retire to their own houſes. Excited by the example of the parliament, the univerſity of Paris, convoked its members, and adopted reſolutions, calculated to allay the ſcruples of the timid and the bigotted; many of

Meaſures for preſerving tranquillity.

22d April.

[14] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 145—148. Chron. Noven. vol. iii. p. 345—347.

[15] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 141. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tom. ii. p. 14.

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which deſcription of men heſitated to acknowledge the legitimacy of the king's title, while he remained unabſolved from the Papal cenſures [16].

26th April. Treaty with Villars, for Rouen.

The tide which had ran for ſeveral years, with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, in favour of the League, now flowed with equal violence, in an oppoſite direction. Rouen, and ſeveral other conſiderable places in Normandy, returned to the obedience of the crown. Villars, who had ſignalized himſelf by his long and ſucceſsful defence of that city, having treated for its ſubmiſſion, obtained from Henry almoſt every conceſſion, or donation, which his avidity and ambition could dictate. To a prodigious ſum of ready money, penſions, and employments, was added the important and honorable charge of admiral of France [17]. It became neceſſary for the king, however reluctantly, to deprive Biron of the office, on whom it had been previouſly conferred. He endeavoured to ſoften ſo harſh and unpalatable a meaſure, by raiſing Biron to the rank of marſhal, and by the moſt liberal teſtimonies of his affection and gratitude. But, the wound was incurable; and the reſentment to which it unhappily gave birth, in a high-ſpirited and indignant mind, was eventually productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. Biron, conceiving his ſervices repaid with neglect, liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of the emiſſaries of Spain; excited convulſions in the ſtate, and became finally the victim of his own treaſonable practices. Even in thoſe provinces, where the authority and influence of the princes of Lorrain had been moſt acknowledged, a ſpirit of reviving loyalty diſcloſed itſelf. Abbeville, a principal city of Picardy, in defiance of the duke of Aumale, ſent a deputation to the king, to implore pardon for their rebellion. In Champagne, the immediate government of the duke of Guiſe; Troyes expelled the prince of Joinville, his brother, and invited the

Submiſſion of Abbeville.

[16] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 226—230. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 15. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 144, 145, and p. 151, 152. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 347—349. Davila, p. 1285.

[17] Sully, vol. i. p. 129—138, and p. 140—144. Davila, p. 1286. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 356—358.

royal

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royal troops to repair to their aſſiſtance. The duke of Elbœuf, firſt of all the family of Lorrain, made his private ſubmiſſions to Henry, and was rewarded with the government of Poitiers. Many inferior cities in every part of France, threw off their ſubjection to the League, and eagerly ſought to merit forgiveneſs, by a prompt return to their duty [18].

1594. and of other cities.

Meaſures of Mayenne.

The duke of Mayenne, when he quitted Paris, had repaired to Bar le Duc, in the dominions of the duke of Lorrain, there to confer with that prince, on the meaſures requiſite to be embraced in the declining ſtate of their affairs. In a tumultuous and diſcordant conſultation, at which the duke of Aumale was preſent, no reſolution of energy was taken, for their common defence and ſafety. The natural irreſolution of Mayenne was ſtrengthened by the diſagreement of his allies; while, on one hand, the duke of Lorrain inclined to negotiate a peace with the king of France; and, on the other, the duke of Aumale, implacable and deſperate, propoſed to admit the Spaniards into Amiens, and to renounce his native country, by ſubmitting unconditionally to Philip the Second [19]. In this embarraſſing ſituation, Mayenne, after a ſhort conference with count Mansfeldt, commander of the Spaniſh forces, determined to repair to Bruſſels. The government of the Low Countries had been recently entruſted by the Catholic king, to the arch-duke Erneſt, whoſe election to the French throne he had vainly attempted to procure. Deſirous of juſtifying himſelf from the imputations laid to his charge by the embaſſadors of Spain, and of concerting in perſon the operations of the approaching campaign; the duke of Mayenne ventured to entruſt himſelf to the good faith of the new governor of the Netherlands. Erneſt received him with every external demonſtration of reſpect and confidence. But, the duke of

He repairs to Bruſſels.

[18] Davila, p. 1290, 1291. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 358, 359. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 152—154.

[19] Davila, p. 1291, 1292.

Feria

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Feria and his colleagues, irritated at the impediments which, in his public capacity, as head of the League, he had oppoſed to the choice of the infanta, ſtrenuouſly urged the expediency and propriety of ſeizing his perſon, and even of puniſhing him as a traitor. The counſel was, nevertheleſs, rejected by the arch-duke, without heſitation. So notorious a breach of public faith, committed againſt a prince who had voluntarily confided himſelf to the national honor, he was ſenſible, muſt have been attended with the moſt injurious conſequences to the crown of Spain. It could only have incenſed the other branches of the family of Lorrain, alienated the adherents of Mayenne from Philip, and precipitated the deſtruction of the League [30].

Poſition of Philip the Second.

The reduction, or rather, ſubmiſſion of the metropolis to Henry the Fourth, followed by the return of Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, and ſo many other cities, to his obedience; rendered it expedient to adopt a new ſyſtem for the proſecution of the war. No hopes remained of elevating Clara Iſabella to the throne of France; nor could it any longer be expected, that the ſceptre would paſs into a branch of the houſe of Auſtria. But, the kingdom, which Philip had vainly laboured to acquire, or to deſtroy; he might be able to diminiſh, and to weaken. The party, with which he acted, though enfeebled, was not extinct. Henry continued ſtill unabſolved from the ſentence of excommunication; and the court of Rome, attentive to the events of the war, would, unqueſtionably, regulate its conduct by good, or ill ſucceſs. Burgundy remained firm to the duke of Mayenne; and Brittany adhered, in a great meaſure, to the duke of Mercœur. Philip had even obtained poſſeſſion of the two moſt valuable and commercial ports of that maritime province. Blavet, better known in the preſent century, by the name of Port l'Orient, was garriſoned

[30] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 280, 281. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 28. Davila, p. 1301, 1302. Memoires de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 710—715.

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by Don John d'Aquila, who had under his command, four thouſand veteran Spaniards. Crodon, in the immediate vicinity of Breſt, the harbour of which place it completely blocked, was a fort, already far advanced in its conſtruction, ſituated upon a craggy and almoſt inſulated rock, overhanging the ſea. It was obvious, what advantages Spain muſt derive from two ſuch fortreſſes, and how deeply England, as well as France, was intereſted, in his ejection from Brittany. If to theſe advantages and acquiſitions, could be added the provinces of Picardy and Champagne, he might ſtill be regarded as the arbiter of the French monarchy, and he could, at pleaſure, invade the kingdom in its moſt vulnerable quarter [21].

Plan for continuing the war, embraced by Spain.

Determined by theſe judicious and obvious reflexions, orders were ſent from the cabinet of Madrid, to the arch-duke, to march a body of forces into Picardy, and endeavour to gain poſſeſſion of the moſt important places on that frontier. Mansfeldt, at the head of ten thouſand infantry, and a thouſand cavalry, accompanied by the duke of Aumale, inſtantly entered France, and ſat down before La Capelle. Henry no ſooner received intelligence of the irruption of the

9th May.

Spaniards, than he quitted Paris, and haſtened to its relief: but, before he could arrive in its vicinity, the town had already ſurrendered. Anxious to repair the loſs, and unable to bring Mansfeldt to a general

25th May. Henry beſieges Laön.

engagement, he formed the ſiege of Laön. The city, built on the ſummit of a mountain, was conſidered as one of the ſtrongeſt in the kingdom. The duke of Mayenne had left in it his ſecond ſon, the count de Sommerive, and had removed thither, as to a place of ſecurity, his moſt valuable effects. The enterprize partook, in ſome meaſure, of temerity, when it was conſidered that Henry might be aſſailed in his camp, by the united forces of Spain and of the League. It required all the vigilance of the king, aided by the talents of Biron, and the efforts of the French nobility, who crouded to the

[21] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 310, 311. Mezeray, vol. xii. p. 22, 23. Davila, p. 1293—1296, and p. 1322, 1323.

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royal ſtandard; to overcome the reſiſtance of the beſieged. The allied army, led by Mansfeldt and Mayenne, advanced to ſuccour Laön, and made the moſt deſperate exertions, in order to throw proviſions into the city. But, the loſs of one of their principal convoys, where a conſiderable body of Spaniards was put to the ſword, neceſſitated the confederates to retire. In effecting their retreat before a victorious enemy, which was not unaccompanied with danger; the eminent military abilities of the duke of Mayenne, over which the defeats ſuſtained at Ivry, and at Arques, had thrown a cloud; were conſpicuouſly and beneficially diſplayed. He covered the rear from inſult; expoſed his perſon, while he performed the office of an experienced commander; and extorted applauſes from Henry himſelf. Laön, abandoned to its fate, continued, nevertheleſs, to make a long and deſperate reſiſtance; nor did it ſurrender, till no hopes remained of relief from any quarter. The king granted to the garriſon, the moſt honorable conditions [22].

Efforts of the Spaniards, to relieve the city.

16th June.

It ſurrenders.

22d July.

Terrified by the ſucceſs of the royal arms, and anxious to avert a ſimilar fate from themſelves, the inhabitants of the principal cities of Picardy, ſent to offer their ſubmiſſions. Even the preſence and remonſtrances of the dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, could not prevent the revolt of Amiens from the League. Noyon was taken by the king, after a ſhort ſiege. Beauvais voluntarily returned to its allegiance; and after a victorious campaign, Henry repairing to Paris, was received with teſtimonies of joy and affection. His preſence was requiſite in the capital, where the remaining adherents of Spain and of Mayenne, ſecretly aided by the diſcontented among his own courtiers, and openly encouraged by Biron, who had never forgiven the injury done him by Henry's reſumption of the dignity of admiral; ſeemed to menace a dangerous fermentation [23]. The death of the

Auguſt.

September.

Death of the cardinal of Bourbon.

[22] Sully, vol. i. p. 148, and p. 155—160. D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 342—345. Davila, p. 1303—1311. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 281—289. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 360—364.

[23] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 19, 20.

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cardinal of Bourbon, whoſe name ſtill ſerved to perpetuate a faction in the ſtate, and whoſe ambition, if aided by circumſtances, might have led him to enterprizes of a criminal nature; was favorable to the continuance of tranquillity. He was little regretted by the king; and his numerous eccleſiaſtical preferments, which remained at the diſpoſal of the crown, enabled Henry to reward the ſervices, or to purchaſe the ſubmiſſion of thoſe with whom he treated [24].

Second viſit of Mayenne, to Bruſſels.

During theſe events, the duke of Mayenne, repairing again to Bruſſels, endeavoured to prop his declining fortune, by new conventions with the miniſters of Philip. Deſerted by his own party, accuſed by the embaſſadors of Spain with betraying the common cauſe, and feebly ſupported by the arch-duke; he was reduced to the humiliating neceſſity of juſtifying his conduct, to the court of Madrid. Encouraged to treat with Henry, whoſe magnanimity and clemency he well knew; his characteriſtic indeciſion, added to ſome faint and fallacious hopes of retrieving his affairs, prevented him from embracing ſo ſalutary a meaſure. It was at length determined in the arch-duke's council, to make Burgundy the theatre of war; a province, where the duke's influence was great, and all the principal cities of which were at his devotion. The vicinity of the county of Burgundy, which conſtituted a part of the Spaniſh dominions, might greatly facilitate the entry of a foreign army, on that ſide of France; and Henry, if vigorouſly attacked at the ſame time, in two quarters, ſo widely ſeparated, would, it was imagined, be unable to make effectual reſiſtance. But, ſuch was the general conſternation, or defection of the League, that it could no longer be perpetuated, except by violence and terror. Macon, Auxerre, and other cities of Burgundy, expelled the garriſons of the duke of Mayenne. Dijon, capital of the province, prepared to follow their example; and only the per-

Defection of Burgundy, from the League.

[24] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 277, 278. Jour. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tom. ii. p. 37, 38. Sully, vol. i. p. 150—152, and p. 171, 172. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 407.

ſonal

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ſonal appearance of the duke, at the head of a body of cavalry, prevented the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants to the crown. He was even compelled to have recourſe to acts of ſeverity and puniſhment, in order to deter them from new attempts of a ſimilar nature. Some of the magiſtrates were put to death by his expreſs command, and the moſt jealous precautions were uſed to retain the citizens in ſubjection. It was evident that a cauſe, which ſtood in need of ſuch ſupport, was not far from its diſſolution [25].

November.

Hoſtilities in Brittany.

While, on the northern and eaſtern frontier, ſo many great events were tranſacted, the more remote provinces were not exempt from the calamities of civil war. In Brittany, d'Aumont was oppoſed to the duke of Mercœur, and Don John d'Aquila. If the troops of the League had acted in concert with thoſe of Spain, their ſuperiority to the royal forces, muſt have been indiſputable. But, their mutual diſtruſt, which approached to enmity, enabled d'Aumont, after taking the town of Morlaix, to puſh his advantages. Reinforced by a body of Engliſh, whom Elizabeth, the ſteady ally of Henry, and the unalterable enemy of Philip, had ſent to Brittany, under the command of ſir John Norris; he determined to form the ſiege of Crodon. This fortreſs, intended to bridle the refractory ſpirit of the Bretons, and, which, from its poſition, commanded the entrance of the harbour of Breſt; though not completed, was capable of a long defence. Praxede, a Spaniſh officer, of approved capacity, with three hundred of his countrymen, furniſhed with every requiſite for ſuſtaining an attack, had been placed in the fort. He proved himſelf deſerving of the confidenee repoſed in his valor and ſkill. The autumnal ſeaſon was unfavorable to the beſiegers, who laboured under numerous impediments; and only the junction of the duke of Mercœur with Aquila was wanting, to have compelled them to raiſe the ſiege. Even, when hopeleſs of relief, and ſuſtained by

D'Aumont lays ſiege to Crodon.

[25] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 415—429. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 27, 28. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 353—356. Davila, p. 1318—1320.

his

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his own courage alone, Praxede exerted the moſt heroic efforts, to preſerve ſo valuable an acquiſition to the crown of Spain. His troops, animated with the ſame ſpirit, refuſed to capitulate, or even to demand quarter. They periſhed, almoſt to a man, when the victorious ſoldiers of d'Aumont entered the place. Nor was the capture effected without a prodigious effuſion of blood, on the part of the royaliſts. Frobiſher, ſo celebrated in the naval annals of England, was killed in the breach; and Elizabeth, menaced with new invaſions in her own dominions by Philip, ſhortly afterwards recalled her forces from France. The fort of Crodon was inſtantly demoliſhed by the Bretons: but, that important, and commercial province did not effect its entire emancipation from the Spaniſh power, for ſeveral years ſubſequent to theſe events; and Spain retained the port of Blavet, till the final accommodation between the two crowns, at the treaty of Vervins [26].

17th November. It is taken by ſtorm.

Affairs of Provence.

At the other extremity of the kingdom, Marſeilles continued to maintain itſelf in a ſtate of avowed revolt, and ſeemed to meditate the deſign of erecting itſelf into a ſpecies of republic, governed by Duumvirs, under the protection of Spain. Epernon, whoſe inſolence and deſpotiſm had rendered him odious to the inhabitants of Provence, ſcarcely deigned to obſerve the forms of ſubmiſſion towards the crown. The ambiguity of his conduct, and the tyranny of his adminiſtration, equally impelled Henry to deſire his removal. But, ſuch was the diſtance of the province from the ſeat of government, and ſo unconfirmed was his authority over the great nobility, in a period of civil commotion; that the king did not venture to adopt a meaſure, the execution of which was at once difficult and uncertain. The marſhal Montmorency, recently raiſed to the dignity of conſtable of France, was, therefore, commiſſioned to hear the complaints of the parliament and people of Aix, and finally to arbi-

[26] Davila, p. 1322—1327. Hume, Hiſt. of England, vol. v. p. 374. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 305—317. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 414. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 22, 23.

trate

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trate between them and Epernon. Various cauſes of delay, nevertheleſs, interpoſing, ſecret orders were iſſued to Leſdiguieres, who commanded the royal forces in Dauphiné, to expel Epernon by violence. That commander paſſed the river Durance, at the head of a body of troops; entered Provence; and after an action, the iſſue of which was not deciſive on either ſide, reduced his adverſary to ſubmit to the ſequeſtration of the fort, which he had recently conſtructed for the purpoſe of holding in ſubjection the city of Aix. It was ſoon afterwards demoliſhed by the inhabitants themſelves, indignant at the treatment which they had received from their governor, and indirectly encouraged by Leſdiguieres [27]. Having reſtored a degree of temporary calm to Provence, he returned into Dauphiné. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, active and vigilant, had availed himſelf of the abſence of ſo formidable a general. Reinforced by a number of German and Milaneze troops, he laid ſiege to Briqueras, the vicinity of which to Turin rendered it peculiarly capable of annoying his ſubjects, and even of endangering his capital. The fort ſurrendered, after a vigorous reſiſtance; and the approach of winter incapacitated Leſdiguieres from making any effectual exertions, for retrieving ſo important a loſs [28].

1594. Leſdiguieres oppoſes Epernon.

War with Savoy.

23d October.

Wearied with a war, which exhauſted his dominions and reſources, the duke of Lorrain negotiated a ſeparate peace with the king of France, and even entered into an offenſive treaty of alliance with him; or, at leaſt, permitted his troops to fight under the French banners, againſt Spain [29]. The duke of Guiſe himſelf, renouncing the expectation of a chimerical crown, and ill ſupported by the Spaniards, ſought an occaſion of ſubmitting to his legitimate ſovereign.

Peace with the duke of Lorrain.

16th November.

[27] Vie d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 61—99. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 317—323. Vie de Leſdiguieres, p. 145—152. Davila, p. 1327—1330.

[28] Guichenon, Hiſt. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 747—749. Vie de Leſdig. p. 152—154. Davila, p. 1330, 1331. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 324—327. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 441, 442.

[29] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 407—410. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 344, 345. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 25, 26, and p. 30, 31.

He

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He was ſtimulated to it, by the exhortations of the ducheſſes of Nemours and Montpenſier; by the alienation which ſubſiſted between him and his uncle, the duke of Mayenne; and by the embarraſſed ſtate of his affairs, political, and perſonal. The cities of Champagne, that ſtill adhered to him, were held by a precarious tenure; and he had only obtained poſſeſſion of Rheims, by the recent commiſſion of a crime. St. Paul, who, during the troubles of the League, and originally aided by the protection of the late duke of Guiſe, aſſaſſinated at Blois, had riſen to a high degree of civil and military conſideration; profiting of the impriſonment of the young duke, rendered himſelf almoſt abſolute and independant in the province of Champagne. He even retained poſſeſſion of Rheims by a numerous garriſon, which was entirely at his devotion; and it became neceſſary to put him to death, or, to renounce the expectation of recovering the place. The duke did not heſitate to commit the act with his own hand, and to become the executioner of St. Paul, whom he ran through the body with his ſword. He obtained from the clemency of Henry, the moſt favorable terms; an oblivion of every offence; a vaſt ſum for the liquidation of his own, and his father's debts, contracted in the cauſe of rebellion; and ultimately, the government of Provence, in exchange, or in compenſation for that of Champagne. It ſeems hardly poſſible to have dictated better conditions, if he had been victorious; and Henry was too well juſtified in the complaint, which he ſometimes allowed to eſcape him, that "he had been compelled to purchaſe of rebels, his own do-"minions[30]."

Submiſſion of the duke of Guiſe. 29th November.

The king, after having renewed the edict of Poitiers, in favor of his Proteſtant ſubjects, repaired anew to the frontiers, where the advanced ſeaſon of the year, and the rigors of winter, could not ſuſpend

December.

[30] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tom. ii. p. 5. Davila, p. 1321, 1322. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 26, 27. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 411—413. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 300—302. Sully, vol. i. p. 176—180, and p. 185.

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the operations of war. Conſcious that he muſt henceforth meet the whole ſhock of the Spaniſh monarchy; and that Philip, who had hitherto acted only as an auxiliary of the League, and as the champion of the Catholic religion, would aſſail him with all his forces; Henry prepared to ſupport the impending blow. Yet, anxious, if poſſible, to avert ſo dangerous a conflict, he addreſſed letters to the ſtates and cities of Haynault and Artois, exhorting them to induce the king of Spain to withdraw his forces from the French territories; and menacing them with rendering their country the theatre of hoſtilities, if the court of Madrid perſiſted in its meaſures[31]. No reply whatever was made to theſe denunciations, either on the part of the archduke, or of the ſtates; and Henry returning to Paris, narrowly eſcaped a danger more formidable than any external attack of Spain, or of the League. A youth, named John Chatel, who had not completed his nineteenth year, of a melancholy turn, and addicted to many of the moſt depraved, or abandoned propenſities of human nature; determined, from a deſire of expiating his offences, to merit the favor of Heaven, by ſtabbing the king. Having mixed in the croud, who aſſembled to congratulate Henry on his ſafe return to the capital; he aimed a blow, which was ſo well directed, that if the king, in ſtooping forward to embrace Montigny, one of his courtiers, had not given the knife another direction, it muſt, probably, have been mortal. Inſtead of entering his throat, the inſtrument ſtruck his mouth, and broke one of his teeth. The aſſaſſin was inſtantly ſeized, and conducted to priſon. He ſupported all the variety of torture previous to, and at his execution, with unconquerable firmneſs; ſuſtained by the ſame miſtaken fanaticiſm, which had originally impelled him to ſo criminal an act[32].

17th December. Henry addreſſes letters to the Flemings.

27th December. Chatel ſtabs the king.

29th December.

[31] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 327—330. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 430—432.

[32] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 339, 340. Davila, p. 1332, 1333. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 432—435. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 330—335. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tom. ii. p. 64—68. Sully, vol. i. p. 191.

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The ſociety of Jeſuits, ſome individuals of whom appeared to have been privy to the deſign, if not to have encouraged him to its commiſſion, were involved in the penalties of Chatel's ſentence. Their devoted adherence to Spain, and to the League, added to the genius and ſpirit of their principles and doctrines, which ſeemed to inculcate regicide in many caſes, rendered them juſtly obnoxious to general indignation. The parliament of Paris, by a ſevere decree, pronounced them ſeducers of youth, baniſhed them the kingdom within fifteen days, on pain of treaſon, and confiſcated their property to pious uſes. Guignard, one of their body, convicted of having in his poſſeſſion, if not of compoſing, libellous papers, tending to ſubvert all government, and to excite to the aſſaſſination of princes; was executed at Paris. A pyramid, commemorative of the crime perpetrated by Chatel, and containing on its different ſides, a number of inſcriptions, defamatory of the Jeſuits; was erected in the middle of the metropolis, on the ſpot where had ſtood the aſſaſſin's houſe. Yet, ſuch was the aſcendancy and influence of that celebrated order of eccleſiaſtics; ſo inſinuating was their addreſs, and ſo powerful were their protectors; that the parliaments of Toulouſe and of Bourdeaux refuſed to concur in the ſentence iſſued at Paris. Under their protection, the Jeſuits continued to exerciſe their functions; till the active interference of the ſee of Rome in their behalf, aided by other favorable circumſtances, procured at the end of ten years, the obliteration of all paſt tranſactions or offences, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the order in every part of France [33].

Exile of the Jeſuits.

1595. 17th January. Henry proclaims war with Spain.

On his recovery from the effects of the wound, which he had received from Chatel, Henry, without further delay, declared war on Spain, with every circumſtance uſual in that age. He accompanied it with a manifeſto, calculated to render Philip odious to all Europe,

[33] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 340—342. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 335—338. Davila, p. 1334. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 32—34. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 435—440.

as

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as the common enemy of the tranquillity of nations, and peculiarly, of the repoſe of France. The court of Madrid, in a counter declaration, juſtified its proceedings; and the Catholic king continued to veil his enmity, or ambition, under the ſpecious pretence of zeal for the purity of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of hereſy [34]. It may, perhaps, admit of ſome doubt, whether in thus provoking an open conteſt with ſo powerful a monarchy as Spain, Henry did not exhibit more reſentment, or diſplay more magnanimity, than ſound policy. France, exhauſted by a long ſeries of civil war, was unequal to ſuſtain the preſſure of the Spaniſh arms, and at various times, nearly ſunk under their weight. The finances were in the laſt ſtage of diſorder, anticipation, and confuſion. The king found it equally difficult to content his Catholic, and to repreſs his Hugonot ſubjects. In various provinces, the League was ſtill powerful; while the nobility who adhered to the crown, impoveriſhed in their fortunes, and diminiſhed in their numbers, loudly demanded a reſpite from the toils of repeated campaigns. Henry himſelf, ſcarcely become maſter of his capital, in danger of perpetual aſſaſſination, unabſolved by the Papal ſee, deſtitute of iſſue, and hourly expoſed to the accidents of war; held his crown and life by the moſt precarious tenure. His death muſt have been followed by a diſputed ſucceſſion, and by every misfortune incident to external hoſtility, and to internal weakneſs or diviſion. In peruſing hiſtory, we are perpetually compelled to admit, that fortune, ſtill more than wiſdom, is the arbitreſs of mankind.

Reflexions on that meaſure.

The rapid progreſs of the royal affairs in Burgundy, ſeemed, nevertheleſs, to form the beſt juſtification of the rupture with Spain, and to menace the complete extinction of the remaining power or influence of Mayenne. Neither his exhortations, nor his menaces, could controul the ſpirit of diſaffection in the inhabitants of the principal

Affairs of Burgundy.

[34] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 342—344. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 481—483.

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cities. In defiance of a numerous garriſon, the citizens of Beaune roſe tumultuouſly, admitted marſhal Biron into the town, and, after a deſperate conflict, compelled the governor, placed over them by the head of the League, to retire into the citadel. Inveſted by ſuperior forces, and hopeleſs of relief, he was ultimately neceſſitated to ſurrender, after a defence of near five weeks [35]. Nor did the affairs of the duke of Nemours, in the adjoining province of the Lyonnois, wear a more favorable appearance. That prince, having, by a bold, and ingenious ſtratagem, effected his eſcape from the caſtle of Pierre Enciſe, where he had been detained; reſumed his plans for rendering himſelf maſter of Lyons, either by famine, or by force. Aſſiſted by his ally and relation, the duke of Savoy, he collected forces, reinforced the garriſons which belonged to him on the Rhone, and flattered himſelf with the ſpeedy completion of his ambitious projects. But, the venality, or perfidy of one of his captains, who commanded in the city of Vienne; and who, corrupted by the offers of the conſtable Montmorency, betrayed to him the place; at once rendered abortive all the hopes of the duke of Nemours. With the loſs of Vienne, his principal fortreſs and poſt upon the Rhone, he renounced the proſecution of hoſtilities. Retiring to Annecy in Savoy, the emotions of indignation, grief, and diſappointment, in a high-ſpirited mind, produced a diſtemper, of which, after languiſhing a conſiderable time, he expired, at the age of twenty-eight years. Dreaded by his enemies, admired by his friends, and poſſeſſing qualities, rather brilliant and dangerous, than ſolid or conciliating, he was little regretted by any party; and his death was quickly obliterated amidſt the important tranſactions of ſo buſy a period [36].

5th February.

Eſcape, and projects of the duke of Nemours.

March.

24th April.

His death.

Biron is received into Dijon.

Excited by the example and ſucceſs of the inhabitants of Beaune, the magiſtrates and people of Dijon had recourſe to arms, attacked the

[35] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 487—491. Davila, p. 1341, 1342. De Thou, vol. xii. 353—358.

[36] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 492—495, and p. 518—522. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 348—350. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 35—37. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 323, 324, and p. 455—458, and p. 462, 463.

troops

troops of Mayenne, and compelled the viſcount de Tavannes, his lieutenant, to take refuge in the citadel. Biron, invited by them to repair to their aſſiſtance, loſt no time in entering the city, and made every preparation for beſieging the enemy. Meanwhile, Ferdinand de Velaſco, conſtable of Caſtile, and governor of the Milaneſe, having received from the court of Madrid, peremptory orders to invade France; aſſembled a conſiderable army. Deſcending the Alps, through Savoy, he entered the county of Burgundy, and ſoon expelled the troops of Lorrain in the ſervice of Henry; who, profiting of the unprepared and defenceleſs ſtate of that remote province of the Spaniſh monarchy, had already captured ſeveral places. Velaſco was ſpeedily joined by the duke of Mayenne, at the head of a ſelect body of brave and veteran adherents, who ſtill accompanied his declining fortune. The confederates, unoppoſed, approached the banks of the Saone, over which river they made diſpoſitions for throwing bridges, in order to advance to the relief of the citadel of Dijon. Alarmed at the proſpect of being attacked and ſurrounded by ſo ſuperior a force, Biron, unable either to reduce Tavannes to capitulate, or to meet the enemy in the field; urged the king, by repeated meſſengers, to march to his relief. To his entreaties, were added the expoſtulations of the conſtable Montmorency, who commanded at Lyons, and who equally dreaded, that the weight of the Spaniſh arms might be directed towards himſelf. A more powerful and eloquent advocate than either, induced Henry to yield to their requeſt. The celebrated Gabrielle d'Etrees, his miſtreſs, flattered with the expectation that he might effect the ſpeedy conqueſt of the county of Burgundy, and that he would confer it on the ſon whom ſhe had borne him; joined her ſolicitations to thoſe of Biron and Montmorency. Theſe united efforts were irreſiſtable, and determined the king to repair in perſon to Dijon, without delay [37].

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April.

Velaſco, and Mayenne, march to relieve the citadel.

May.

Henry determines to repair to Burgundy.

[37] Sully, vol. i. p. 192, 193. Davila, p. 1346. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 37, 38. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 495, 496.

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It is hard to condemn, and it is, perhaps, more difficult to juſtify, Henry's conduct in complying with their wiſhes. However critical, or important, were the affairs of Burgundy, the ſtate of the northern provinces, was ſtill more expoſed, and more alarming. Picardy and Champagne, open to invaſion, offered an eaſy entrance to the Spaniſh forces; who were led and conducted by the duke of Aumale, Roſne, and many other illuſtrious, or intrepid partizans of the League, whom deſpair animated with double ardor, againſt their native prince and country. Death had terminated the ſhort adminiſtration of the archduke Erneſt, in the Netherlands; and he had been ſucceeded proviſionally, by the count de Fuentes, who, to an implacable enmity towards France, added military talents, activity, and enterprize. In ſuch a ſituation, it was highly dangerous for Henry to abandon the capital, and to expoſe his perſon on a diſtant frontier, in the acquiſition of glory, or of territory. Even, the progreſs of Velaſco and Mayenne, however rapid in Burgundy, could not be productive of evils ſo great, as the ſucceſs of Fuentes in Picardy; the vicinity of which province to the metropolis, rendered its defence and preſervation peculiarly neceſſary. Theſe obvious conſiderations were, nevertheleſs, unable to retard, or to affect the king's reſolution. Previous to his departure, he placed the prince of Conti at the head of a council of ſtate in Paris. The protection of the northern frontiers, he entruſted to marſhal Bouillon, the count de St. Pol, and Villars, who conducted a body of Norman troops from Rouen, to the aſſiſtance of his two colleagues. They were enjoined to act in concert, and to obey the duke of Nevers, as commander in chief. Experience demonſtrated, that neither the civil, nor military ſyſtem, embraced by Henry, were maturely conſidered, or judiciouſly choſen. The council, ſtationed in the capital, was feeble, divided, and deſtitute of energy. In the camp, the incompatible and fiery temper of Villars, was ill calculated to act in combination, or to ſubmit to a ſuperior. Bouillon, though poſſeſſed of capacity and experience, was a Hugonot;

Motives, and effects of that meaſure.

Precautions, for the ſecurity of Picardy.

not; and the count de St. Pol, young, and of limited talents, had little weight, or influence, in the deliberations. All the misfortunes, which diſtinguiſhed the campaign, were juſtly to be attributed to ſo vicious and defective a plan, aggravated by the diſtance and abſence of the ſovereign [28]. CHAP. IV. 1595.

On his arrival at Dijon, Henry, leaving a body of troops, under the count de Torigny, to continue the blockade of the citadel; advanced, at the head of about fifteen hundred cavalry, in order to retard the march of the Spaniſh army. Velaſco had already paſſed the Saone; and the advanced parties of his horſe, meeting with thoſe of the royal forces, a ſkirmiſh enſued. Biron, by the king's command, having endeavoured to reconnoitre their ſtrength and poſition, was attacked by a ſuperior number of the enemy; and reduced, after a vigorous reſiſtance, to retreat in confuſion, purſued by the French in the ſervice of Spain, whom Mayenne had conducted to Velaſco. In this dangerous, and critical predicament, Henry, though almoſt unarmed, and accompanied only by about two hundred and ſixty horſe, principally compoſed of the nobility, who attended his perſon; diſdained to fly. Notwithſtanding the inequality of the conteſt, and in preſence of the whole cavalry of the confederates, ſuſtained at no conſiderable diſtance, by their infantry; he ventured to face them, and to reſcue Biron. His little troop, conſcious of the magnitude of the peril, and ſenſible that the preſervation of the king lay only in their courage; made the moſt deſperate exertions, repulſed the enemy, and even purſued them a ſhort diſtance. It is, nevertheleſs, inconteſtable, that Henry diſplayed more temerity, than conduct, on the occaſion; and, that he owed his eſcape from ſo great and imminent a danger, ſolely to the incapacity and ſlowneſs of Velaſco. His predeceſſor, Francis the Firſt, with equal intrepidity, and far more numerous forces, but, with inferior fortune, had been made priſoner

30th June. Combat of Fontaine Françoiſe.

Reflexions on the king's conduct.

[28] Sully, vol. i. p. 193, 194. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 38, 39.

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at Pavia, and carried to Madrid. Henry narrowly eſcaped a ſimilar fate, or a premature death; and ſevere as were the terms impoſed on Francis, by Charles the Fifth, while in captivity; Henry might have expected a more cruel, or ignominious treatment from Philip, who deteſted his perſon, and denied his title. The duke of Mayenne, ſenſible that the king had engaged too far, that his infantry could not arrive in time to his aſſiſtance, and that he might be eaſily routed, or taken; urged the conſtable of Caſtile to improve the moment, and to march to a certain victory. But, the Spaniard, cautious, diſtruſtful of his ally, and fearful to commit to hazard the dominions of his maſter; peremptorily refuſed to follow the advice. On the contrary, intimidated by his knowledge that Henry was perſonally preſent in the combat, and aware of the activity and enterprize of ſo experienced a commander; he relinquiſhed his views of conqueſt. Limiting his ambition to the preſervation of the county of Burgundy, he inſtantly began his retreat acroſs the Soane, broke down the bridges, and taking a ſtrong poſition under the walls of the town of Gray, prepared for defenſive operations. Henry, after purſuing him a few miles, and attempting to harraſs, or to cut off his rear, deſiſted, and returned to Dijon, in order to accelerate the reduction of the caſtle [39].

Velaſco retreats.

[39] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 360—365. Davila, p. 1346—1351. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 495—500. Sully, vol. i. p. 298—300. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 41, 42. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 352—355.

All the contemporary hiſtorians have minutely related the particulars of this celebrated combat; but, it is in Davila, who was, himſelf, a ſoldier, that we find the moſt accurate, animated, and pictureſque narration of the ſkirmiſh. Neither Biron, nor the king, had intended to do more, than to reconnoitre the poſition and ſtrength of the Spaniſh army. They were, in fact, ſurprized and attacked by a body of cavalry, chiefly compoſed of the troops of Mayenne. Only the moſt deſperate efforts of courage, aided by good fortune, extricated Henry from the danger. Biron, being without his helmet, was wounded on the head; nor was the king better prepared for action in that reſpect. Davila ſcarcely blames Velaſco for not exerting more deciſion or diſpatch, as he well knew, that the loſs of the whole county of Burgundy muſt have been the conſequence of a defeat. Like the duke of Parma, at the ſkirmiſh of Aumale, he gave the king of France credit for leſs temerity, and more prudence; and like that illuſtrious commander, Velaſco, if reproached with his error, might have replied, that he "believed "himſelf contending with a general, and not "a carabineer." Though Velaſco's refuſal to allow the duke of Mayenne to charge at the head of the allied cavalry, proved the king's preſervation; yet, it ſeems difficult to impute to him any very great degree of blame.

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No ſituation could be more hopeleſs, nor deſperate, than that of Mayenne. Indignant at the conduct of Velaſco; fruſtrated in his expectation of retrieving by one fortunate blow, his ruined affairs; exhauſted in his means of continuing the war; and not daring to expoſe himſelf to the hazard of being inveſted by the royal forces in Chalons, the only city of importance in Burgundy which ſtill adhered to him; he preſented a ſtriking example of the viciſſitude of fortune. The inhumanity of his Spaniſh ally towards the ſick and wounded ſoldiers of the League, who were refuſed entrance into the town of Gray, augmented the bitterneſs of his reflexions; and the generous behaviour of Henry, who cauſed the French priſoners to be treated with tenderneſs and care, was calculated to make a deep and oppoſite impreſſion. Surrounded with difficulties, the duke, as his laſt reſource, determined to retire into Savoy; to demand a ſafe-conduct from Philip, for his paſſage through Spain; and to repair in perſon to Madrid, there, at the feet of the Catholic king, to juſtify his own meaſures, and to point out the errors which had involved the League in ruin [40]. From ſo deciſive and irretrievable a ſtep, he was ſaved by the interpoſition of Henry, who cauſed him to be indirectly apprized, that advantageous, and honorable terms would yet be granted him; and that, in the mean time, he might find an aſylum in Chalons, where he ſhould neither be moleſted, nor beſieged. Even, in this laſt extremity of his affairs, the duke did not accept the king's propoſal, till he had made a final effort to induce the conſtable of Caſtile to ſuccour the caſtle of Dijon. Having received a refuſal, he quitted the Spaniſh camp, with the ſmall remainder of his followers, retired to Chalons, and commanded the citadel of Dijon, as well as the fortreſs of Taland, in its vicinity, to be ſurrendered to the royal forces [41].

Deſperate ſituation of Mayenne.

He retires to Chalons.

[40] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 365. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 42.

[41] Davila, p. 1351, 1352. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 365, 366.

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1595. Wiſdom, and magnanimity of Henry's conduct.

In contemplating this act of Henry, which, by its inevitable conſequences, virtually extinguiſhed the League, as a party acting under the duke of Mayenne; we are not more charmed with the magnanimity and clemency, than penetrated with the wiſdom of the meaſure. Paſt experience had proved, in the perſon of the conſtable of Bourbon, under Francis the Firſt, how deep were the wounds, which one illuſtrious and perſecuted individual could inflict on his native country, when driven to ſeek refuge in the arms of a foreign prince. Henry, in the courſe of the preſent year, had ample occaſion to lament, that ſimilar lenity had not been extended to, or embraced by, the remaining chiefs of the ſame powerful faction. Spain owed its ſucceſs on the northern frontier, to their intimate knowledge of the weakneſs of France, and of the vulnerable parts of the monarchy. The duke of Mayenne, though placed by a combination of circumſtances, at the head of a party in oppoſition to the crown, had never betrayed any perſonal animoſity towards Henry. Still leſs, had he ſacrificed the kingdom to Philip, the elevation of whoſe daughter to the throne, he had oppoſed, and finally prevented. His friends and adherents were numerous; and ſome fortunate accident, yet poſſible in the reverſes of war, might renew and awaken the dying ſpirit of the League. It behoved a wiſe and able prince, to extinguiſh even its name; and while ſtruggling with external and powerful enemies, to ſeize with eagerneſs every means for ſuppreſſing the continuance of civil war.

July. Henry enters the county of Burgundy.

Auguſt.

Seduced by the proſperous condition of his affairs, the king, after reſtoring order in Burgundy, marched into the county of that name, paſſed the Soane, and endeavoured to provoke Velaſco to an action. But, the Spaniard, ſtrongly entrenched, and protected by the cannon of Gray, declined a battle, and allowed the French to ravage the province, to the gates of Bezanſon; ſecure, that though Henry might deſolate, he could not make any permanent conqueſts. After ſome weeks of hoſtilities, he began, in fact, to perceive that the reduc-

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tion of that country was not to be effected without greater preparations, and longer time. Maladies ſpread among his troops; and the Swiſs confederacy, alarmed at the approaches of ſo formidable a neighbour, and roused by the cries of the inhabitants of the county, who reclaimed their protection, interpoſed their mediation, to induce the king to leave them in repoſe. Theſe motives were ſufficiently powerful, to procure the evacuation of the province; which continued to form a portion of the Spaniſh monarchy, till it was conquered in the enſuing century, by Louis the Fourteenth, under the feeble ſucceſſors of Philip the Second [42].

He retires.

Henry, repairing with his court, to Lyons, made a triumphal entry into the city; received the teſtimonies of loyalty offered him by the inhabitants; and paſſed a ſhort time amidſt the feſtivities, acclamations, and marks of public joy, which his preſence occaſioned. Soon after his arrival, he granted a truce to the duke of Mercœur, for four months, which comprehended the two provinces of Poitou, and Brittany. With the duke of Mayenne, he eſtabliſhed a ſimilar ſuſpenſion of arms, extending throughout the remainder of the kingdom, during three months; and preparatory to a general pacification. The dukes of Joyeuſe and of Nemours were included in it, as members of the League, and adherents of Mayenne. An armiſtice was agreed on between the king, and Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy: but, new difficulties which aroſe, delayed, and finally prevented the concluſion of a peace. On every ſide, Henry beheld only ſubmiſſion or victory. The League might be regarded as vanquiſhed; and its chief had already taken ſhelter under his clemency. He received from his agents at the court of Rome, the moſt flattering aſſurances of ſpeedy abſolution. He had ſubjected Burgundy, and carried devaſtation into the territories of Philip. Intoxicated by ſo many proſperous circumſtances; deſirous of taſting repoſe, after his

4th September.

7th September.

Truce, made with Mayenne.

23d September.

Proſperous ſtate of the king's affairs.

[42] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 369—371. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 500, 501. Davila, p. 1352—1355.

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recent exertions and dangers; retained by the charms of his miſtreſs, Gabrielle d'Etrees, to whom univerſal homage was paid, as to the arbitreſs of favors and honors; the king appears to have been, in ſome meaſure, enervated, and to have forgotten, for a ſhort time, his more eſſential duties. His ſtay at Lyons was injurious to his own glory, and detrimental to the kingdom. He was ſpeedily rouſed from his inactivity, when too late, by intelligence of events of the moſt adverſe nature, which had already taken place at another extremity of his dominions [43].

[43] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 424—428. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 45—47. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 513—518, and p. 523—526.

CHAP. V.

Military operations in Picardy.—Defeat of the French.—Capture of Dourlens.—Enterprize of Cambray.—State of that place.—Siege of it, by Fuentes.—Its ſurrender.—Abſolution of Henry, by Clement the Eighth.—Affairs of Provence.—Treaty with Mayenne.—Recovery of Marſeilles.—Capture of Calais, by the arch-duke Albert.—Termination of the campaign.—League between France and England.—Convocation of an aſſembly, at Rouen.—Surprize of Amiens.—Conſequences of that event.—Critical condition of France.—Siege of Amiens.—Attempt of Albert to bring relief.—Surrender of Amiens.—Conferences for peace.—Cauſes, which produced it.—Submiſſion of Mercœur.—Edict of Nantes.—Obſtacles to the treaty of Vervins.—Concluſion of it.—Reflexions.

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WHILE Henry, in the purſuit of glory, or in the enjoyment of repoſe, was inattentive to the more important intereſts of his people; the count de Fuentes, at the head of an army, formidable rather from its veteran ſkill, than from numbers, entered Picardy, and ſat down before Le Catelet, a little place on the frontiers. During the proſecution of the ſiege, Humieres, lieutenant-governor of the province, commenced a ſecret negotiation with d'Orvilliers, whom the duke of Aumale had placed in the caſtle of Ham, and who was irritated againſt the Spaniards for a breach of faith. Its object, was the admiſſion of the royal troops into the fortreſs. The treaty was concluded, and carried into execution; but, as the town of Ham was already occupied by the enemy, a long and deſperate action enſued between the forces of the two nations. It terminated, after a great effuſion of blood, in favour of the French; who, incenſed at the obſtinate

1595. Fuentes enters Picardy. 10th June.

20th June. Capture of Ham.

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obſtinate reſiſtance made, and deeply ſenſible to the loſs of Humieres, killed in the attack; refuſed quarter to the ſurviving Spaniards. Near ſix hundred were put to the ſword, in defiance of marſhal Bouillon's utmoſt exertions to preſerve them; and the town itſelf was pillaged by the ſoldiery[1]. The count de Fuentes, who had not been able to arrive in time to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, endeavoured to obtain ſome compenſation for the recent loſs, by continuing, or reſuming the ſiege of Le Catelet, which ſoon afterwards capitulated. Encouraged by the facility of the capture, he ventured to inveſt Dourlens, a town of conſiderable ſize, and not far removed from Amiens, the capital of the province. Bouillon, having firſt thrown into it a ſupply of troops, conſiſting principally of gentry, or nobility, who ſerved in the royal army; approached with an intention of relieving it, or, of giving battle to the beſiegers. Fuentes, apprized of the deſign, left a body of troops to guard the trenches, and marched to meet the French. The diſunion of Villars, and of Bouillon; their miſintelligence, or jealouſy; and the injudicious precipitation, with which, inſtead of waiting for the arrival and junction of the duke of Nevers, who was only a few leagues diſtant, they hazarded an action: theſe united cauſes gave the Spaniards a deciſive victory. Villars, carried away by the impetuoſity of his courage, and regardleſs of the prudent remonſtrances of Bouillon; was ſurrounded, made priſoner, and put to death, under circumſtances exceedingly ſimilar to thoſe which diſtinguiſhed the fate of the duke of Joyeuſe, at Coutras, and of Louis, prince of Condé, on the field of Jarnac[2].

25th June.

15th July. Siege of Dourlens.

24th July. Defeat of the French army.

[1] Davila, p. 1366—1372. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 501, 502. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 382—391. Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 81—92. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 47—49. Sully, vol. i. p. 296.

[2] Davila, p. 1373—1379. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 502—505. Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 92—97. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 400—406. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 50—52. Sully, vol. i. p. 297. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 356—358.

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The conquerors, elated by ſucceſs, immediately reſumed the ſiege of Dourlens, and preſſed it with ardor. Though abandoned to its own reſources, and no longer ſupported by any expectation of relief, the garriſon, which was numerous and brave, might have repulſed the aſſailants, or obtained an honorable capitulation in the laſt extremity. But, the ſame want of ſubordination, which prevailed in the French camp, pervaded the town; and the governor, unſkilled in the art of defending cities, neglected the meaſures neceſſary for its preſervation. Availing himſelf of theſe circumſtances, and of the emulation among the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Walloons, who compoſed his army; Fuentes gave orders for an aſſault on one of the baſtions of the caſtle. It was carried, together with the fortreſs itſelf; and the troops puſhing on, entered the town with the fugitives. Liberated from reſtraint, the victorious ſoldiery, incenſed at the recent ſlaughter of their countrymen at Ham, and eager for an occaſion to retaliate; not only put to the ſword all the perſons bearing arms; but, maſſacred indiſcriminately, the inhabitants, of both ſexes, and all conditions. It was not till night and fatigue interpoſed to moderate their fury, that they began to grant quarter to ſuch as had taken refuge in the churches. Above two thouſand men, women, and children, periſhed in the carnage, which equalled, in ſavage ferocity, the exceſſes committed by the barbarians who overturned the Roman empire. The terror which it diffuſed over the whole frontier, was ſuch, that Amiens, and all the towns upon the Somme, ſcarcely regarded themſelves as ſecure under the protection of the duke of Nevers. That general, having, not without reluctance, aſſumed the command of the broken and diſpirited army, recently defeated; was neceſſitated to divide it into ſeparate bodies, ſtationed along the borders, in the uncertainty where the Spaniſh commander might direct his next attack [1].

31ſt July. Storm, and maſſacre of Dourlens.

[1] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 407, 408. Davila, p. 1380—1382. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 506, 507.

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Fuentes meditates the ſiege of Cambray.

But, all the enterprizes of Fuentes, however ſucceſsful or brilliant, were only meant as preparations for a more important undertaking, the ſiege of Cambray; before which, after various marches, deſigned to keep the enemy in ignorance of his intention, he ſuddenly ſat down. That city, whoſe magnitude, population, and manufactures, rendered it one of the moſt conſiderable in the Low Countries, had been delivered up to Francis, duke of Alenſon, when he was called to the aſſiſtance of the Flemings. He had bequeathed it by his laſt will, to Catherine of Medecis, his mother; as the only trophy, or fruit, of his unſucceſsful, and inglorious expeditions to the Netherlands. The queen had placed in it John de Balagny, natural ſon to the celebrated Montluc, biſhop of Valence, whoſe intrigues eminently contributed to the elevation of Henry the Third to the Poliſh throne; and nephew to marſhal Montluc, known in hiſtory, by his exploits, and by his commentaries. If Balagny, who, after the death of his benefactreſs, had retained poſſeſſion of the city, would have conſulted the felicity of its inhabitants; it ſeemed probable, that the acquiſition might have been as permanent, as it was valuable. But, not ſatisfied with expelling the archbiſhop, under whoſe mild and limited juriſdiction, the citizens had always been protected and cheriſhed; he ſeized on the temporalities of the ſee, and appropriated them to his own uſe. The inhabitants were deprived of their immunities, and loaded with exactions. His wife, who was ſiſter to Buſſy d'Amboiſe, the inſolent favorite of the duke of Alenſon, was a woman of undaunted intrepidity, and a maſculine ſpirit: but, ſhe exceeded her huſband in rapacity, avarice, and violence. Nor were the neighbouring provinces exempt from Balagny's incurſions and depredations. Theſe circumſtances, all of which were well known to the Spaniſh general, induced him to hazard ſo bold a meaſure as the ſiege of Cambray; and he was, probably, not inſenſible to the glory of conquering a place, that even the duke of Parma himſelf, had regarded as beyond his power, and above his ſtrength.

13th Auguſt.

State of Cambray, at this period.

Tyranny of Balagny.

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ſtrength. He was further encouraged by the exhortations of the inhabitants of Artois and Haynault, who engaged to furniſh ample ſupplies of money, and of proviſions [4].

Henry takes Balagny under his protection.

During the troubles by which France was agitated in the laſt years of the reign of Henry the Third, Balagny had joined the party of the League. But, anticipating its deſtruction, he made his ſubmiſſion to Henry the Fourth, on condition of retaining Cambray and its territory, as a fief, to be held of the French crown by a military tenure; and he from that time aſſumed the title of prince of Cambray and of the Cambreſis. The frail and tranſitory foundation of the new principality, was, nevertheleſs, foreſeen, and predicted, by many of the wiſeſt men about the perſon of Henry. He himſelf, during a viſit, which, at Balagny's ſolicitation, he made to Cambray in the preceding year, had urged him to accept an equivalent in a more ſecure part of the dominions of France; and to allow a city ſo expoſed, to be united to, and incorporated with the monarchy. But, the vanity, preſumption, and folly of its poſſeſſor, would not allow him to profit of ſo ſalutary an offer [5]. He had, nevertheleſs, been deficient in every precaution for perpetuating, and preſerving his uſurpation. The regular forces in the place, only amounted to about ſeven hundred; but, the duke of Nevers, whom Balagny ſolicited by repeated meſſengers, to afford him immediate aid, inſtantly diſpatched his own ſon, at the head of near eight hundred cavalry. In defiance of all the impediments oppoſed to the attempt, he found means to enter the city. It was further ſtrengthened by the arrival and exertions of de Vic, eſteemed the moſt ſkilful commander in France, if not in Europe, in the ſcience of fortification and of ſieges. The aſſailants were repulſed in various efforts to ſtorm the outworks: the autumnal ſeaſon, ſo unfavorable to military operations, was rapidly approaching: it was well known, that the duke of Nevers was aſſembling forces,

15th Auguſt.

Difficulty of the ſiege.

11th September.

[4] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 412—414. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 58.

[5] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 291—295. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 429, 430.

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for the relief of the beſieged; and the king himſelf might ſoon be expected to arrive in perſon, at the head of freſh troops[6].

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Diſcontent of the inhabitants.

Under theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, Fuentes would have abandoned the enterprize, if the French, ſerving in his army, had not beſought him to perſiſt, in the hope of ſpeedily ſeeing a commotion within the place. Their expectations and aſſurances proved to be not imaginary. The citizens were by no means averſe to the French government; but, they deteſted the tyranny of Balagny, and ſought to be liberated, at any price, or by any ſacrifice, from his oppreſſion. After the commencement of the ſiege, they had deputed ſome members of their body to Henry, at Lyons; and had beſought of him to give them a promiſe, that they ſhould be reinſtated in the enjoyment of their antient liberties, under the protection of the crown. In return, they engaged for the fidelity and loyalty of their fellow citizens. But, the king, induced by the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, Gabrielle, whom Balagny had found means to gain; and already fettered by his treaty with him; rejected, or eluded their requeſt[7]. His refuſal produced the ſurrender of the city. Driven to deſpair, the inhabitants, availing themſelves of the moment, when the garriſon, in expectation of an immediate aſſault from the enemy, was occupied in the breach; roſe tumultuouſly, and ſeized on one of the gates. Neither the exhortations of de Vic, nor the pathetic ſupplications of Balagny's wife, who offered to conduct them in perſon, and to periſh at their head, could divert, or even delay their purpoſe. After a ſhort parley with Fuentes, and a general promiſe of oblivion and protection on his part, the Spaniards were admitted into the city. The French, retiring to the citadel, might ſtill have maintained their ground till aſſiſtance could have arrived; if the blind and improvident avarice of Balagny's wife had not completed her own, and her huſband's down-

Inſurrection.

Spaniards, admitted into the place. 2d October.

[6] Davila, p. 1382—1388. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 512, 513. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 416—421.

[7] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 425—427.

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fall, by ſelling the grain and proviſions, indiſpenſable for the nouriſhment of the troops. She expiated her folly by a death, which the agitations of her own mind accelerated and produced, a few hours previous to the loſs of her tranſitory greatneſs. Balagny, leſs ſenſible to ſhame, or more attached to life, ſupported his fall, with an indifference bordering on inſenſibility; and ſunk without emotion, from a prince to a ſubject. The garriſon, neceſſitated to ſurrender, obtained from the Spaniſh general, honorable conditions, and evacuated the citadel. Fuentes, returning victorious to Bruſſels, after a campaign of unexampled ſucceſs, was received into that capital with acclamations, as the reſtorer of the glory of Spain, which, ſince the duke of Parma's deceaſe, had ſuffered a temporary eclipſe. Cambray, loſt by the incapacity, tyranny, and improvidence of Balagny, added to the delays and ſecurity of Henry, remained to Philip; and continued to form a part of the Spaniſh monarchy, till it was reduced to the obedience of Louis the Fourteenth, before the cloſe of the laſt century [s].

Citadel ſurrenders. 9th October.

The king, rouſed at length from his inactivity, by repeated information of the augmenting danger of Cambray; quitted Lyons, and haſtened to the frontier. But, he arrived too late to remedy the evil, which his abſence, at ſo critical a juncture, had, in ſome meaſure, occaſioned. He found the army diſcontented and dejected; the capital full of faction and of complaint; and the northern provinces, from Calais to the gates of Sedan, terrified, defenceleſs, and open to invaſion. It was ſome conſolation, under theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, to know, that his abſolution, ſo long denied, or protracted, had been obtained from the ſovereign pontiff. Clement, after having fulfilled all the obligations which he thought due to the ſanctity of his own character and office; to the ſecurity of the Romiſh religion; to the

Henry arrives in Picardy.

Motives of Clement, for abſolving the king.

[s] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 428—436. Memoires de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 717—732. Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 98, 99. Davila, p. 1389—1392. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 59—62. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 526—529. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 360, 361.

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friendſhip of the Catholic king, the avowed protector of the holy ſee; and to the temporal intereſts of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter; thought it prudent to relax in his ſeverity. The example of England, which was loſt by the injudicious, or timid deference of one of his predeceſſors, for the houſe of Auſtria; held out an inſtructive admonition. He dreaded the total ſeparation of France, from the communion of the church of Rome; the diminution of his ſpiritual power, and the defalcation of his revenues. He ſaw Henry acknowledged by almoſt all France, triumphant over the League, admired and venerated from one extremity of Europe to the other. Of the durability, if not the ſincerity of his converſion, he had no room to doubt; and the king, with filial humility and contrition, ſtill continued to entreat his benediction, as alone neceſſary to conſummate his union with the Catholic church. Having determined to grant the abſolution, it only remained to make the conditions annexed, as advantageous to the pontificate, as poſſible; and in this part of the negotiation, all the refinement of Italian policy was exhibited and exerted. Philip the Second, attentive to embarraſs and to delay, if he could not altogether prevent the accompliſhment of the work; endeavoured to procure the inſertion of demands, diſhonoring to the crown of France, or perſonally degrading to Henry. But, the patience, dexterity, and pliability of d'Oſſat and du Perron, the king's procurators, ſuſtained by equal firmneſs and inflexibility upon certain points; ſurmounted every impediment [9].

Delays to its accompliſhment.

Ceremony of the Papal abſolution.

17th September.

The ceremony of the Papal abſolution, was preceded by public acts of penitence and prayer; accompanied with all the obſervances of devotion and ſplendor, calculated to increaſe the veneration felt for the pontifical authority; and followed by feſtivities and marks of general ſatisfaction. The ſcene, choſen for its performance, was the rotunda, in front of the church of St. Peter. Clement, elevated on a

[9] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 533—535. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 468—477.

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ſuperb throne, having on his head the tiara, and other ornaments of his ſacerdotal dignity, ſurrounded by the members of the ſacred college, and in preſence of a vaſt multitude; beheld at his feet the ſuppliant repreſentatives of the king of France. In imitation of the Roman mode of reſtoring ſlaves to liberty, the pontiff enfranchiſed Henry, by the application of a wand or rod, with which, from time to time, he gently touched the ſhoulders of his two procurators. He then pronounced, as the immediate delegate and vicar of Chriſt, the ſentence of abſolution; after which, the doors of the baſilique of St. Peter were thrown open, and maſs was celebrated with unuſual pomp. It muſt be admitted, that in ſo oſtentatious a diſplay of the apoſtolic power arrogated by the popes, the majeſty of Henry and of the crown of France were not altogether reſpected. But, policy and neceſſity compelled him to ſubmit to almoſt any humiliation, in order to obtain the Papal forgiveneſs; without which, neither his throne, nor even his life, were ſecure from rebellion and aſſaſſination. It removed the only remaining prop of the League, weakened the efforts of Spain, calmed the ſcruples of ſuperſtition, and diſarmed the violence of ſedition. The king received the intelligence with joy, and ordered public thankſgiving to be offered to Heaven, through the whole extent of his dominions. Senſible of the advantages derived from the friendſhip of the holy ſee, he cultivated it with warmth; and omitted no occaſion, during his reign, of demonſtrating the fervency of his attachment to the religion which he had embraced [10].

Reflexions on it.

25th November.

Anxious at the ſame time, to repair the breaches made by Fuentes on the frontier, which, he was conſcious, might have been prevented by greater diligence and expedition; he determined, notwithſtanding the approach of winter, to undertake ſome enterprize, calculated to

[10] Bruys, Hiſt. des Papes, vol. v. p. 117—119. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 536—538. Davila, p. 1356—1362. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 53—58. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 477, 478. Memoires de Chiverny, vol. i. p. 360—376.

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restore his reputation, and to allay the general discontent. After receiving a reinforcement of troops from England, Scotland, and Holland, he sat down suddenly before La Fere, the only town possessed by the Spaniards, south of the river Somme. The situation of the place, environed by morasses; the numbers and intrepidity of the garrison, together with the advanced season of the year; rendered the siege, nevertheless, slow, and obliged the king to convert it into a species of blockade [11]. In various parts of the kingdom, the flames of civil war, though diminishing in their fury, were not yet extinct. Marshal d'Aumont was killed, before an inconsiderable fort in Brittany: but, the indecision, or incapacity of the duke of Mercœur, and his alienation from the Spanish commander, prevented their profiting of an event so injurious to the royal affairs [12]. Hostilities had continued among the defiles and precipices of the Alps, between Lesdiguieres and the duke of Savoy, with alternate success, till they were suspended by the truce, concluded at Lyons. Toulouse, and a part of Languedoc, continued to obey the duke of Joyeuse. Provence presented a scene of anarchy, confusion, and outrage. Epernon, who pretended to have received from Henry the Third, the reversion of the government after the death of his brother; and whose arrogance rendered him incapable of listening to moderate counsels; persisted to maintain himself in the province, by force of arms. Neither the open detestation of the people of every rank; nor the concealed opposition, which he experienced on the part of the crown, could shake his determination. Henry, unable to turn his forces to that quarter, and fearful to irritate so powerful a subject, by any act of severity; embraced the expedient of conferring the government of Provence on the duke of Guise. He adhered to the measure, notwithstanding the remonstrances of various of his ministers, who, in forcible terms, exposed the imprudence of entrusting so important a

1595. 8th November. Henry besieges La Fere.

19th August.

State of Provence.

Duke of Guise is sent governor.

[11] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 439, and p. 601. Davila, p. 1402, 1403.

[12] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 443—450. Davila, p. 1393, 1394. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 67.

maritime

maritime province to a young prince, ſcarcely emancipated from the League; and who, in virtue of his deſcent from the antient counts of Provence, might revive his pretenſions to its ſovereignty. Experience, nevertheleſs, juſtified the choice made by the king [13].

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The publication of the treaty, which had long been negotiating between Henry and the duke of Mayenne, took place ſoon after the commencement of the enſuing year. Though far leſs advantageous to the latter, than the terms which he might have exacted when maſter of the capital, and ſupported by a numerous army; the conditions were yet highly honorable, and ſuch as have rarely been granted by a ſovereign, to a rebellious, and vanquiſhed ſubject. The principles, on which, as head of the League, Mayenne had taken up arms, were admitted to have been not only juſtifiable; but, in ſome meaſure, meritorious. He was acquitted, in common with all the princes and princeſſes of the family of Lorrain, from any participation in, or knowledge of, the aſſaſſination of Henry the Third. His incumbrances, within the kingdom, as well as thoſe contracted for foreign troops, were declared to be debts of the ſtate; and it was ſtipulated, that their liquidation ſhould be made out of the royal coffers. Beſides an indemnity and oblivion for every paſt tranſaction, the cities of Soiſſons and Chalons were left to Mayenne during ſix years, as places of ſecurity; and his eldeſt ſon, created a peer of France, by the title of duke of Aiguillon, was provided with the reverſion of the government of Burgundy. The parliament of Paris did not manifeſt the ſame facility in regiſtering, which the king had diſplayed in conceding, ſo liberal and comprehenſive an edict. It was thought indecorous, if not degrading to the majeſty of the crown, to recognize the innocence of the duke, and of his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Montpenſier, and their ignorance of the crime committed

1596. Treaty with Mayenne. January.

Articles of it.

Oppoſition of the parliament of Paris.

[13] Memoires de Chiverny, vol. i. p. 335—337. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 581, 582. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 463—465. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 46. Davila, p. 1407. Hiſt. d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 102—107.

by

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by Clement. A degree of indirect impunity was given by it, to regicide itſelf; the conſequences of which might be even more pernicious, than the atrocious act, which it conſigned to oblivion. Henry was not inſenſible to, nor unaffected by theſe conſiderations: but, weighty as they were, ſuperior reaſons compelled him to interpoſe his authority, and to conſummate a treaty, which, alone, could extinguiſh the party of the League. Even after repeated injunctions, the parliament ſeems, nevertheleſs, rather to have yielded to force, than to have conceded to inclination, in verifying the treaty. It was carried into effect with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity. The magnanimity and placability of the king, in his reception of Mayenne, confirmed his triumph; and transformed the leader of a rebellious faction, into a loyal and affectionate ſervant. It is rare, that hiſtory, which tranſmits ſo many monuments of the weakneſs or vices of princes, is enabled to commemorate ſuch an inſtance of beneficence and clemency [14].

Magnanimity of the king.

While Henry was thus employed in pardoning and conciliating his enemies, the courage and fortune of his adherents in another quarter of the kingdom, atchieved an enterprize of the higheſt importance to the public ſafety and repoſe. Marſeilles, which had originally embraced the Catholic League, and which, at a ſubſequent period, was nearly reduced to the obedience of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy; had ultimately been ſubjugated by two of its own ambitious citizens. Caſaux, and Aix, under the denominations of Conſul and of Supreme Judge, had arrogated, and maintained themſelves in an unlimited authority. Supported by an armed force, and protected by the ſtrength of the place, they bade defiance to external attack. Henry had vainly attempted to induce them to return to their allegiance, by every offer which could tempt their vanity, or

State of the the city of Marſeilles.

Tyranny of the Duumvirs.

[14] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 63—66. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 356—360. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 602—608. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 598—604. Davila, p. 1396—1401. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 116, 117. Sully, vol. i. p. 327, 328.

gratify

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gratify their avarice. They preferred entering into a treaty with Philip the Second, who granted them all the conditions demanded, and who already anticipated the acquiſition of Marſeilles. Doria, who commanded the Genoeſe gallies in the Spaniſh ſervice, was admitted into the harbour; and a ſhort delay would have ſecured ſo invaluable a port, to the inveterate enemy of France.

Enterprize of Libertat.

In this critical interval, the intrepidity of Libertat, a Corſican, to whom the Duumvirs had entruſted the principal gate of the city; overturned their uſurpation, and fruſtrated the views of the court of Madrid. Having negotiated with the new governor of Provence, the duke of Guiſe, and encouraged by an aſſurance of ample reward, he undertook, and effected, the emancipation of Marſeilles. On the day fixed for executing his deſign, the royal troops, under cover of the night, approached the walls; and Libertat, after having ſhut the gate upon Aix, who had gone out to reconnoitre, inſtantly put to death his colleague, Caſaux. Aix, though purſued by the forces of the duke of Guiſe, was ſo fortunate as to regain the city; and in conjunction with the ſon of the Duumvir, recently killed, he attempted to make himſelf maſter of the gate where Libertat commanded. But, the ſtruggle was ſhort. Weary of the tyranny exerciſed over them, the inhabitants roſe, and declared for the crown. The ſoldiery, headed by the duke of Guiſe, were admitted into the place: Doria, ſurprized, and terrified, made no reſiſtance, and crouded ſail, to eſcape with the gallies under his command. The two ſurviving chiefs of the rebels, after maintaining themſelves during ſome days, in the forts, which overlook the city, capitulated on promiſe of their lives, and freedom. So complete a revolution was effected with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and almoſt without any effuſion of blood. If we conſider the political conſequences, which muſt have attended the ſubjection of Marſeilles to Philip; we ſhall admit, that it was hardly poſſible to pay too highly the ſervice rendered to the ſtate by Libertat. From ſo impregnable a poſt, the Catholic king might have deſolated Provence,

17th February.

Its ſucceſs.

Importance of the acquiſition.

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awed the ſtates of Italy, and carried on the whole commerce of the Levant. Its central poſition, in the midſt of the Mediterranean, would have connected the dominions of Philip on the Tuſcan coaſt, in Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, with the continent of Spain; and have rendered him the undiſputed arbiter of all the ſouth of Europe [15].

Epernon quits Provence.

The voluntary departure of Epernon from Provence, ſpeedily followed the reduction of Marſeilles, and reſtored a degree of tranquillity to that part of the kingdom. Purſued by the enmity of the natives, who endeavoured to take away his life by the moſt inſidious, or atrocious contrivances; oppoſed in the field, by the duke of Guiſe; and enjoined by Henry to quit the province; he, at length, indignantly complied. Even when retiring, he made conditions with his ſovereign; extorted new governments, in the place of the one which he evacuated; and maintained himſelf in a ſort of ſullen independance on the court and adminiſtration [16].

Arrival of Albert in the Netherlands.

11th February.

During theſe intereſting tranſactions on the coaſt of the Mediterranean; and while the king was occupied before La Fere, the blockade of which threatened to be drawn into conſiderable length; the cardinal arch-duke Albert, a younger brother of Erneſt, arrived at Bruſſels. He had already filled the poſt of viceroy, in Portugal; and Philip, who deſtined for him his daughter, the infanta Clara Iſabella, conferred on him the government of the Netherlands. Eager to prove himſelf deſerving of ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſituation; and emulous to equal, or ſurpaſs the exploits of Fuentes, his predeceſſor; Albert loſt no time in preparing for the campaign. It was dangerous, if not impracticable, to attempt the relief of La Fere, in preſence of a numerous army, ſuperior in cavalry, and animated by the king in perſon. But, it might be equally beneficial, to make a powerful diverſion, and to inveſt one of the frontier cities of Picardy, while the royal forces were incapacitated to advance ſpeedily to its

[15] Davila, p. 1404—1410. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 613—624. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 584—590. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 68—73.

[16] Hiſt. d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 107—127, and p. 137—141. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 73—75.

aſſiſtance.

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assistance. After mature deliberation, the advice of Rosne, who intimately knew at what part of the French monarchy to point his attack, decided the arch-duke to form the siege of Calais. Its distance from La Fere, and the degree of security in which its supposed strength had lulled the garrison, presented additional motives to justify the selection.

1596. He determines to besiege Calais.

The promptitude, celerity, and vigor of the Spanish commanders, were followed by corresponding and rapid success. Such was the supine and thoughtless negligence of the French, that the forts of Nieulay, and of the Risbanc, which guarded the entrance of the harbour, were carried almost without resistance. Every effort of Henry, who, on the first intimation of the danger that menaced Calais, had repaired to Boulogne, at the head of a body of cavalry; was rendered ineffectual by the contrary winds, which prevented succours from entering the port. The town, battered by the cannon of the enemy, capitulated. Bidossan, the governor, an officer of valor and fidelity, but, deficient in military skill, continued to defend the citadel. But, the intrepidity of the assailants, guided by the superior talents of Rosne, overcame all opposition. They ascended the breach, stormed the fort, and put the troops found in it, to the sword [47]. Calais, which, after a possession of above two centuries, had been lost to England by the incapacity of Mary, and the culpable neglect of her ministers, rather than by the exertions of Francis, duke of Guise; was transferred to Spain, by similar errors, or inattention. The distracted condition of France, convulsed by civil and foreign war, forms, nevertheless, too satisfactory an apology for Henry; who, since his accession, had been reduced to contend unremittingly for the crown itself; and who, engaged before La Fere, could not personally extend his vigilance over every part of so extensive a frontier.

9th April. The town capitulates.

23d April. Citadel stormed.

[47] Davila, p. 1413—1422. De Thou, 302. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 610—612. vol. xii. p. 630—637. Sully, vol. i. p. 301, Mezeray, vol. x. p. 75—80.

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1596. 3d May. Siege, and capture of Ardres.

Animated to new exertions by his paſt ſucceſs, Albert, ſtill conducted by the ſame ſkilful counſels, marched out of Calais, to form the ſiege of Ardres. Neither the advantageous poſition of the place, a reinforcement of conſiderable magnitude, recently thrown into it, nor the expectation of receiving ſpeedy aſſiſtance from the king himſelf, could prolong its defence. The puſillanimity of Belin, the governor, in defiance of the oppoſition made by his own officers, and the valor of the troops, ſurrendered the place to Spain; nearly at the preciſe time, when La Fere capitulated to Henry. The arch-duke, ſatisfied with his acquiſitions, and not diſpoſed to commit his conqueſts to the chance of war, did not wait for the approach of the royal forces. He retired, by haſty marches, into Flanders, in order to refreſh his troops; after having provided for the ſafety of Calais and Ardres[18]. It might naturally have been ſuppoſed, that a prince ſo active and enterprizing as Henry, would have profited of the abſence of the enemy, either to retake the places recently loſt, or, to form ſome offenſive plan of operation. But, ſuch was the exhauſted condition of the revenue, and ſo empty were the public coffers, as to incapacitate him for any undertaking of expence, or magnitude. The diſeaſes which had manifeſted themſelves in the camp before La Fere, had diminiſhed his numbers; and the devaſtation of Picardy rendered it impoſſible to procure ſubſiſtance. In this ſituation, he was reduced, as he had been after the ſiege of Paris, to ſeparate his army, and to ſtation the ſoldiery in the garriſons along the banks of the Somme[19].

21ſt May. Surrender of La Fere.

Exhauſted ſtate of France.

The arrival of the Papal legate, Alexander, cardinal of Medecis, whoſe miſſion was intended to affix the ſeal to Henry's reconciliation with the holy ſee, recalled him to the capital. That prelate was received with diſtinguiſhed honors; and met, at his entrance into Paris, by the young prince of Condé, preſumptive heir to

July.

[18] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 638—646. Davila, p. 1424—1429. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 612, 613.

[19] Davila, p. 1429, 1430.

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the crown, whom the king had recently cauſed to be taken from the Hugonots, and educated in the Catholic faith. By thus depriving his Proteſtant ſubjects of ſo powerful a ſupport, as they muſt have derived from a prince of the blood, attached to their party and religion; he conſulted equally his own tranquillity, and the repoſe of France; while he gave an unequivocal teſtimony of his ſincerity, to the court of Rome. Soon afterwards, Charlotte de la Tremouille, princeſs of Condé, accuſed of having poiſoned her huſband, and long detained in confinement at St. John d'Angely; was ſet at liberty by Henry's command. The parliament of Paris, taking cognizance of the affair, after examination, declared her innocent of that atrocious crime. It is, nevertheleſs, probable, that policy, more than conviction, dictated the ſentence; ſince, in the poſſible event of the king's deceaſe, ſhe would have ſtood in the near relation of mother to his ſucceſſor, who was, likewiſe, a minor [20].

1596. Prince of Condé is brought to court.

Alarmed at the rapid advances of the Spaniards, who had, in two campaigns, levelled the principal bulwarks of Picardy, and opened to themſelves an eaſy entrance into all the interior provinces; Henry applied for aſſiſtance, to his antient ally, Elizabeth. An embaſſy, at the head of which marſhal Bouillon was placed, arrived in the court of England: but, many cauſes had contributed to weaken the queen's affection, and to diminiſh her eſteem for the king of France. His change of religion was not the leaſt of theſe, however dictated, and juſtified, by neceſſity. Elizabeth's revenues, even with her frugal management, were unequal to the vaſt expenditure required to oppoſe Philip the Second in Europe, and on the continent of America. Her whole reign was only a ſtate of open, or of indirect hoſtility with him; and the energy of her people ſupplied the deficiency, or the poverty of the crown. She was compelled to watch, with unintermitting vigilance, over Ireland; to which country, Spain directed its conſtant attacks:

Embaſſy ſent to England.

Impediments to a treaty, between Henry and Elizabeth.

[20] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 618, 619. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 366—368; and vol. xiii. p. 25—29. Davila, p. 1430—1432. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 43, 44, and p. 86, 87.

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1596. the Dutch commonwealth, reared by her care, ſtill required her protection; and ſhe had, at different periods, advanced a vaſt ſum to Henry himſelf, of which ſhe vainly demanded reſtitution. Convinced, nevertheleſs, of the magnitude and reality of the danger with which ſhe was menaced in common with France, by the progreſs of the Spaniards; and peculiarly ſenſible to the vicinity of ſuch formidable neighbours, poſſeſſed of Calais, in addition to their Flemiſh dominions; ſhe, at length, conſented to ſign a new treaty with the king. It was offenſive, and bound the contracting parties to make the ſtrongeſt efforts againſt their mutual enemies. The States General, for whom a place was ſpecifically reſerved, entered into the alliance, ſome months afterwards [21].

26th May. Alliance, concluded.

21ſt October.

The cardinal arch-duke, after his exploits in France, did not reſign himſelf to inactivity. Turning his arms againſt the Dutch, who, conducted by Maurice, prince of Orange, maintained a continual war in the Netherlands; he inveſted Hulſt, an important town of Brabant, not far removed from Antwerp. It was defended with far greater ſkill, as well as perſeverance, than he had experienced in the attack of Calais; and its ſurrender, after a long and generous reſiſtance, was dearly purchaſed by the loſs of Roſne, who had directed the operations. To his genius, and implacable animoſity againſt Henry the Fourth, were, in a great degree, to be aſcribed the ſplendid ſucceſſes of Fuentes and of Albert [22]. The weakneſs and laſſitude of the French, incapacitated the king for availing himſelf of the arch-duke's abſence; nor was the autumn otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed, than by ſome incurſions of Biron, at the head of a body of cavalry, who repeatedly ravaged the provinces of Artois and Hainault, to the ſuburbs of Arras. Theſe ruinous depredations increaſed the calami-

Siege of Hulſt.

July.

18th Auguſt.

Death of Roſne.

October. Incurſions of Biron, into Artois.

[21] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 647—671. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 625–627. Davila, p. 1422–1424. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 83, 84. Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 102—160. Rapin, Hiſt. of England, vol. vii. p. 546, 547.

[22] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 613—618. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 41—52.

ties

ties of war, without materially accelerating its termination; and were productive of little glory, or benefit [23].

Henry, unable to raiſe ſupplies from an exhauſted and impoveriſhed country; incapable of compelling the duke of Mercœur to lay down his arms in Brittany; and dreading an inſurrection of his Hugonot ſubjects, who loudly demanded from his gratitude, an edict of permanent toleration for their religion; was far from enjoying repoſe, or even ſecurity. Preſſed by a powerful, and victorious enemy, he had recourſe to a popular aſſembly, in order to find expedients for liquidating the public debts, and ameliorating, or augmenting the revenue. But, inſtructed by the experience of his predeceſſor, he preferred convoking an epitome of the States General, to the dangerous experiment of calling together the States themſelves. A limited number of perſons, ſelected from the nobility, clergy, magiſtracy, and finance, who might be eaſily induced to lend aſſiſtance to the crown, from whence they derived their own luſtre or ſupport; were aſſembled at Rouen. Henry haranged them with a ſimplicity, frankneſs, and brevity, calculated to make the deepeſt impreſſion. The wants, and the critical ſituation of the monarchy, were too obvious and apparent, to need exaggeration, or to require eloquence. Another ſucceſsful campaign muſt enable the Spaniards to carry their arms into the heart of the kingdom, to approach Paris, and to dictate conditions of peace, ſuch as their policy, or reſentment might ſuggeſt. Penetrated with a conviction of theſe facts, the aſſembly, after reclaiming the rights and privileges of their reſpective orders; came to various reſolutions, tending to enable the king to raiſe temporary ſupplies, by new impoſitions. But, he was not long in perceiving, that, it was eaſier to grant taxes, than to render them efficient. The domain of the crown, as well as the revenues, were in a ſtate of ſuch anticipation and alienation, as to be irretrievable, except by a ſyſtem of rigorous, and radical reform; nor could

Convocation of an aſſembly, at Rouen.

4th November.

Reſolutions, framed in it.

[23] Davila, p. 1439. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 52—54. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 620—622.

he

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1596. he venture to undertake ſo painful and arduous a work, in the midſt of a foreign war. Convinced that he ſhould derive little benefit from the deliberations, or continuance of the aſſembly, he ſhortly afterwards permitted the members to ſeparate [24].

1597. Returning to the capital, he began to make preparations for opening the campaign with effect; when an event, equally unexpected and alarming, reduced the kingdom to extremities, and ſeemed to menace him with misfortunes greater than thoſe, which he had ſuffered from the League.

Portocarrero ſurprizes Amiens.

Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, an officer of equal capacity and intrepidity, conceived the deſign of ſurpriſing Amiens; the protection of which had been, by Henry's facility, rather than his negligence, entruſted to the citizens. Availing himſelf of their careleſs ſecurity, Portocarrero approached the place with a conſiderable force, during the night; while a few ſoldiers, of approved valour, and diſguiſed as peaſants, or waggoners, entered the city. By an ingenious contrivance, ſome of them amuſed the guard; till the others, drawing their weapons, made themſelves maſters of one of the gates, and inſtantly admitted their companions. So admirable were the meaſures taken, and ſuch the promptitude, ſilence, and ſkill, exerted in executing them, that the capital

11th March. of Picardy, in open day, was ſeized by the Spaniards. Fifteen thouſand inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, after a ſlight and ineffectual reſiſtance, were diſarmed by about three thouſand of the enemy. Scarcely any effuſion of blood accompanied an enterprize, at once ſo bold, and ſo important. Portocarrero, whoſe genius had planned it, loſt not an inſtant in endeavouring to render the poſſeſſion ſecure; and the governor having fled, on the firſt intimation of the danger, no effort was made by the French, for recovering the city [25].

[24] Sully, vol. i. p. 334—341. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 628, 629. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 18—25. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 87—89. Davila, p. 1441, 1442. Memoires de Chiverny, vol. i. p. 387—390.

[25] Davila, p. 1442—1446. De Thou vol. xiii. p. 103—108. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 667—669. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 386—388. Memoires de Chiverny, vol. i. p. 391—396.

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The conſternation, occaſioned in the court, by the intelligence, was not exceeded by that conſequent on the battle of Pavia, when Francis the Firſt was made priſoner; nor by the defeat of St. Quintin, where the conſtable Montmorency, and the flower of the nobility, fell into the hands of the Spaniards [26]. Paris, the metropolis of the kingdom, became, in ſome meaſure, after the loſs of Amiens, a frontier place; nor was it any longer ſecure from inſult, attack, and invaſion, the intermediate country being open, and deſtitute of garriſons, or of fortreſſes. It is, in fact, difficult to conceive, if Spain had remained in poſſeſſion of its recent acquiſition, that Paris could have continued to be the capital of France: and it muſt have become requiſite to remove the ſeat of government, from the banks of the Seine, to thoſe of the Loire. The terror, natural in ſuch a ſituation, was augmented by the general diſſatisfaction. Thoſe who deſired to depreciate the king in the eſtimation of his ſubjects, attributed the calamity to his immoderate love of pleaſures; and to the influence of his miſtreſs, Gabrielle, who enervated his courage, or detained him in diſſipation. Even ſuch as judged more favorably of Henry, ſeemed ready to admit, that he was only victorious over his own people; and that, formed for civil war, his talents ſunk, when oppoſed to foreign enemies [27]. His own conſtancy appears to have been rudely ſhaken, by a reverſe ſo ſevere; and to which it was difficult to apply any prompt, or efficacious remedy. The miſmanagement and peculation of the revenue, incapacitated him for great, or continued exertion; and it was impoſſible to maintain forces, adequate to the ſiege of Amiens, without previouſly providing for their payment. It could not be doubted, that Philip the Second, and the arch-duke Albert, would make every effort, however ruinous to the affairs of the Netherlands, in order to preſerve a conqueſt, which gave them entrance into the centre of France. Portocarrero might

1597. Conſternation, which it occaſioned.

Alarming ſtate of France.

Popular diſcontent.

Difficult ſituation of the king.

[26] Sully, vol. i. p. 349.

[27] Davila, p. 1446, 1447.

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be expected to bury himſelf in the ruins of the city, which he had acquired with ſuch conſummate ability; or, to hold out, till relieved from Flanders. Deſpondency aggravated the weight of the calamity; and the factions of the metropolis, ſuppreſſed, but, not extinct, manifeſted themſelves at a moment of general dejection [28].

Meaſures, embraced by Henry.

Henry, under circumſtances ſo fitted to appall the greateſt fortitude, evinced, after the firſt ſhock, that adverſity could not incapacitate, though it might agitate and diſconcert him. All his meaſures were replete with wiſdom, adapted to the exigency, and carried into effect with vigour. Biron was detached, at the head of thoſe troops which could be immediately aſſembled, to harraſs the garriſon, impede the entrance of proviſions, and ſtraiten them on the ſide of Flanders. The conduct of the finances was entruſted ſolely, and excluſively, to Roſny, known in hiſtory by the title of duke of Sully: a miniſter, who, in application, integrity, and frugality, was not inferior to any ſtateſman, of whatever age, or nation. The parliament of Paris gave the moſt diſintereſted, and efficient ſupport to the exertions of the government; and the duke of Mayenne, anxious to eraſe every impreſſion of his paſt conduct, brought to the king a number of his adherents. Pecuniary reſources were found in the loyalty, or affection of the people; and Henry, quitting Paris, repaired to the camp, where his preſence diffuſed ſatisfaction, and accelerated all the military operations [29].

June.

Condition of the kingdom.

During the interval of more than ſix months, which elapſed between the ſurprize of Amiens, and its recapture, the interior of the French monarchy was agitated by various factions, which not only diſturbed its repoſe, but, ſeemed to menace its very exiſtence. The ſtruggle between the two crowns, was, after near twelve years of open, or indirect hoſtilities, reduced to a point; and ſuch was the

[28] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 92, 93.

[29] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 128—111. Davila, p. 1447, 1448. Sully, vol. i. p. 352, 353. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 94—96. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 388—390.

precarious

precarious nature of Henry's title, as well as the fermentation in his dominions, that any further ſucceſs on the part of his foreign enemies, might have produced a general defection, or revolution. In Brittany, the duke of Mercœur, attentive to the event of the ſiege, renewed his connexions with the court of Madrid, and refuſed to lay down his arms [30]. All the ability and vigilance of Leſdiguieres, could ſcarcely repel the inroads of Charles Emanuel, or prevent his entrance into Dauphiné [31]. Ferdinand, great duke of Tuſcany, availing himſelf of the opportunity, ſeized on two ſmall iſlands near the entrance of the port of Marſeilles, and garriſoned them with troops [32]. The Hugonots, irritated againſt the king, whom they regarded as an apoſtate; and diſſatisfied at his delay in granting them an edict of toleration; refuſed to aid him, and appeared to be ready to have recourſe to the moſt violent expedients [33]. In Paris, the partizans of Spain, held nocturnal aſſemblies, and meditated open inſurrection [34]. Even many of the nobility, and ſome of the princes of the blood, deſpairing of the extrication of the ſtate, and regarding the calamities of France as beyond Henry's ability to remedy; did not heſitate to meet, and to agitate propoſitions of the moſt treaſonable nature [35].

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Foreign, and domeſtic.

While ſymptoms of ſuch univerſal fermentation appeared in the kingdom, the attention of Europe was fixed on the event of the ſiege. In its progreſs, the whole ſcience of war, as known and practiſed at the concluſion of the ſixteenth century, was diſplayed by the two powers. The activity and courage of Portocarrero repeatedly repelled the aſſailants, and fruſtrated, or retarded their operations. But, as the garriſon, diminiſhed by fatigue, ſickneſs, and the ſword, was unequal to contending with an enemy, whoſe numbers were perpetually recruited; it became indiſpenſable either to march to its re-

Siege of Amiens. July.

[30] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 128—136. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 671—673.
[31] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 673—678.
[32] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 98, 99.
[33] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 99—101.
[34] Ibid. p. 96.
[35] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 136, 137.

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lief, or to expect its ultimate surrender. Portocarrero implored the arch-duke, not to suffer so important a city to be lost, without an effort; and that prince, though feebly supported by Philip the Second, wanted no exhortations to excite him to his duty. Under many impediments, and at the hazard of abandoning the Netherlands to the incursions of Maurice, prince of Orange, who only waited for the signal of his departure; Albert having assembled a considerable army, advanced towards the borders of Picardy. He was, nevertheless, from a variety of causes, unable to appear in sight of the besieged, before the death of Portocarrero. A musket ball which entered his left side, while exposed to a severe fire, terminated his life, and deprived Spain of so illustrious a captain. The command was immediately conferred, by unanimous consent, on the marquis of Montenegro, who approved himself worthy of the distinction [36].

August. Death of Portocarrero.

3d September.

Albert comes to the relief of Amiens.

Albert, long and impatiently expected, at length drew near to the bank of the Somme. Such was the culpable negligence, or security of the French, and even of the king himself, that no adequate preparations had been made to oppose, or to repel the Spaniards. Universal alarm and confusion took place on their approach, which were augmented by Henry's absence; who, unapprehensive of any attack, had gone out to the chace. All the efforts of Biron, and the other commanders, could neither dissipate the panic, nor restore the confidence of the troops. Already, the enemy, in the anticipation of victory, was ready to commence the attack; when the arch-duke, unskilled in the conduct of military operations, and ill advised by those who surrounded him, issued orders to halt. The delay of three hours, at so critical a juncture, decided the fate of Amiens, and probably, of France. It was too late, to remedy the error; and it was not among the least singular events of the day, that the duke of May-

15th September.

Loses the occasion of attacking Henry.

[36] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 113—118. Davila, p. 1448—1463. D'Aub. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 390.

enne,

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enne, who had ſo nearly overturned the monarchy; conduced eminently to its preſervation, by cauſing cannon to be placed upon the moſt acceſſible quarter of the royal camp. Foiled in every ſubſequent attempt, either to force the lines, or to throw reinforcements into the city; haraſſed by the cavalry of the king; and incapable of remaining long in a country completely ravaged; the arch-duke began his retreat. If the enterprize had been entruſted to a general of greater capacity; if the duke of Parma had ſurvived; or even if Roſne had not periſhed in the preceding campaign, the ſiege of Amiens would have been raiſed. It is difficult to conjecture, and impoſſible to aſcertain, what might have been the conſequence of ſuch a diſaſter to France: theſe ſpeculations do not belong to hiſtory; but, we are juſtified in ſuppoſing, that they muſt have been of the moſt ſerious nature [37].

1597. Retreats.

If Albert was unable to atchieve the principal object of his expedition, he, nevertheleſs, retreated without loſs. Henry, at the head of all his cavalry, hung upon the rear of the enemy, and continually attempted to charge, or to diſorder them: but, ſuch was the admirable diſcipline, and ſuperior military ſkill of the Spaniſh infantry in that age, as to render ineffectual every effort of the king. He returned, therefore, to the camp before Amiens; which city, hopeleſs of ſuccour, capitulated on honorable terms. Elated with his good fortune, he entered Artois, advanced to Arras, and endeavoured to provoke the arch-duke to hazard an action. So exhauſted, however, were the French forces, and ſo unequal to any enterprize of difficulty, that Henry was compelled ſoon afterwards to relinquiſh the ſiege of Dourlens, which he had imprudently and precipitately commenced. Satisfied, therefore, with having obliged the Spaniards to retire; maſter of Amiens, the prize for which he contended; and unable to keep the field with an

Surrender of Amiens. 25th September.

October.

Henry returns to Paris.

[37] Davila, p. 1463—1469. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 679—685. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 118—124. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 390—393. Memoires de Chiverny, vol. i. p. 396—404.

army

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army diminiſhed by diſeaſes; he returned to Paris, where his arrival was celebrated with acclamations [38].

1597. November. Motives of Henry,

The ill ſucceſs of Albert, and his retreat into the Netherlands, by diſconcerting the vaſt projects, which the court of Madrid had formed, not without apparent foundation, on the poſſeſſion of Amiens; diſpoſed the two crowns to peace. Henry, who, during the greater part of his life, had been compelled to combat danger and adverſity in every ſhape, deſired to taſte repoſe. He dreaded the inſtability of fortune; and he had acquired the higheſt reputation, by his triumph over Spain and the League. The factions of France, inveterate, and

and of Philip the Second,

powerful, required time, and addreſs, to extinguiſh. His revenues were diſſipated by miſmanagement, unequal to proſecuting the war with vigor, and could only be re-eſtabliſhed by tranquillity. Nor had Philip leſs cogent motives, to deſire the termination of the war. He was approaching faſt to the cloſe of life, and ſinking under bodily infirmities, which impaired the energy of his counſels. His only ſon, heir to the vaſt dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy, was young, inexperienced, and of feeble capacity. The hoſtilities in which he was involved with England and Holland, occupied his arms; and during the ſhort expedition of the arch-duke to relieve Amiens, Maurice, prince of Orange, had completely expelled the remaining garriſons of Philip, from every part of Groningen, Frieſland, and Overyſſel. He had already determined to give his daughter, Clara Iſabella, in marriage to Albert, and to endow her with the Low Countries, as a fief to be held of Spain. His finances were ſcarcely leſs exhauſted, than thoſe of Henry; and he had recently been reduced to the humiliating neceſſity of violating his faith to the creditors of the crown, and of withholding payment of his debts, as he had done at an earlier period of his reign. Under theſe circumſtances, he had lent a ready ear to the firſt propoſitions of a pacific nature, which were made to him through

to deſire peace.

1598.

[38] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 125—128. Davila, p. 1469—1472. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 108—110. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 685—688. Sully, vol. i. p. 368.

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the medium of the court of Rome. Clement the Eighth, desirous to unite the Christian powers against the Turks; who, feebly opposed by Rodolph the Second in Hungary, made the most alarming progress; exerted all the influence of the pontifical authority, to terminate the quarrel between France and Spain. Commissioners, named by each crown, and acting under the mediation of the Papal legate, assembled at Vervins, a town on the frontiers of Picardy. Notwithstanding the numerous and intricate points, requisite to be adjusted, previous to a final accommodation; yet, such was the mutual disposition to vanquish them, that the negotiation advanced rapidly, and promised a favorable issue [39].

Mediation of the court of Rome.

February. Conferences at Vervins.

Of all the principal adherents of the League, the duke of Mercœur alone still persisted in his rebellion; though every decent, or ostensible pretext for continuing in arms against his sovereign, had been removed by Henry's abjuration, and absolution. His hopes of retaining the duchy of Brittany, which he had tyrannized during a number of years, and of dissevering it from the monarchy of France; induced him to refuse every offer of accommodation. Even after the re-capture of Amiens, though he had consented to renew the truce with the royalists, he betrayed no disposition towards peace. The king was, therefore, exhorted to repair in person, at the head of his forces, to that quarter of the kingdom; and he executed the resolution without delay. At his approach, the frontier garrisons, which held for Mercœur, in Anjou and Poitou, and on which he had relied for covering Brittany, instantly submitted, and returned to their duty. So unexpected a defection left him exposed to immediate attack; nor had he any alternative, except to implore the forgiveness of his rebellion; or, to sustain a siege in the city of Nantes, whose inhabitants, he dreaded, might seize, and deliver him to his offended prince.

Conduct of the duke of Mercœur.

February.

He submits to the king.

[39] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 195, 196. Davila, p. 1473, 1474. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 113—115. Sully, vol. i. p. 375.

Mercœur

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Mercœur preferred the former expedient. His only daughter, heireſs to the vaſt poſſeſſions of the family of Penthievre, in right of her mother, was made the ſacrifice, to propitiate Henry. Gabrielle d'Etrées became the mediatreſs of a reconciliation, by which her eldeſt ſon, Cæſar, eſpouſed the young princeſs. He was inveſted, at the ſame time, by the king, his father, with the duchy and patrimonial eſtates of Vendome. They were betrothed, with equal ſolemnity and magnificence, in preſence of the court, though the youth of the two parties prevented the conſummation of the nuptials; and Henry granted, in favor of ſo rich an alliance, the moſt honorable terms to Mercœur. His rebellion was not only pardoned, but, juſtified, as having originated in patriotic motives; and, like the duke of Mayenne, he received from the royal coffers, a conſiderable ſum, for the liquidation of his debts. The government of Brittany was conferred on the young duke of Vendome. It cannot be denied, that in the whole courſe of this tranſaction, the king ſacrificed every conſideration of a public nature, to the gratification of his miſtreſs, and the aggrandizement of his natural children [40].

3d April.

Treaty between them.

Demands of the Hugonots.

A ſtill more delicate and important affair, demanded his attention, and called for ſome immediate, or deciſive reſolution. The Hugonots, diſſatisfied at the continual procraſtination of the edict of toleration promiſed them, ſeemed to be diſpoſed to take up arms againſt the crown. Policy, as much as juſtice and gratitude, demanded, that the companions of Henry's adverſe fortune, who had demonſtrated their loyalty even to his predeceſſor, and who had ſo eminently conduced to place himſelf upon the throne; ſhould not be the only deſcription of his ſubjects, excluded from the general pardon and protection. Moved by theſe conſiderations, and apprehenſive of the reſentment of ſo powerful and numerous a body, who might

[40] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 196—206. Sully, vol. i. p. 375—377. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 710—712. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 118—123. Mem. de Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 9—12.

have

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have recourſe to foreign interpoſition, and even impede the concluſion of a peace with Spain; the king, after mature reflexion, granted them an edict. It is one of the moſt celebrated in modern annals; and has always been denominated, from the city in which it was framed, the "Edict of Nantes." The baſis on which it was founded, was that of Poitiers, promulgated by Henry the Third in 1577. If we candidly appreciate the articles of it, we muſt be compelled to allow, that no more extended toleration could, with reaſon, have been demanded on one ſide; nor, with any regard to the public welfare and ſafety, have been conceded on the other. The exerciſe of the reformed religion, was, under ſome limitations and reſtrictions, permitted in every part of France. Every honor, dignity, and employment, civil, military, and even judicial, was thrown open, and rendered common to Catholics and to Hugonots. Various cities and places, in different provinces of the kingdom, the garriſons of which were paid by the crown, remained as ſecurities to the Proteſtants, during eight years. Under the ſhelter of ſo wiſe, liberal, and ſalutary a law, they continued for near a century, to enjoy repoſe and protection. Yet, ſo little were the principles of toleration underſtood, or practiſed in that age; and ſuch was the repugnance of the zealous Catholics, to admit the profeſſors of the reformed religion to any participation of civil rights; that Henry did not venture to publiſh it, till the departure of the Papal legate. Even, when, in the enſuing year, the edict was brought to the parliament of Paris, to receive their ſanction and verification, the ſtrongeſt oppoſition aroſe among the members of that body. It required the perſonal interference of Henry, and all the force of his joint entreaties and menaces, to vanquiſh their reſiſtance [41].

1598. 13th April. Edict of Nantes.

Articles, accorded to the Proteſtants.

Oppoſition of the parliament of Paris.

[41] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p 533—535. Hiſt. de France, par Matthieu, a Paris, 1614, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 197—261. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 208, and p. 373—386. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 123, 124. Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 198, 199. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 206, 207.

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Impediments to the concluſion of peace.

While the king was thus beneficially occupied, in reſtoring order to the province of Brittany; in extinguiſhing the remains of the League; and in diffuſing tranquillity over the interior of his dominions, by quieting the alarm of his Hugonot ſubjects; the miniſters of the two crowns at Vervins, proceeded happily in the great work of peace. The principal impediment to its concluſion, aroſe even leſs from the diſcordant pretenſions of Henry and Philip, than from the inflexibility and pertinacity of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. That prince, whoſe natural ambition was inflamed and heightened by the recent ſucceſs of his arms over Leſdiguieres, from whom he had reconquered the Maurienne, and made other acquiſitions; peremptorily refuſed to relinquiſh the marquiſate of Saluzzo, ſeized by him during the reign of Henry the Third. If the embaſſadors of the Catholic king had ſteadily ſupported him, the treaty appeared to be on the point of being broken off: but, their cold, or equivocal efforts in his favour, compelled him to relax in his demand. It was, at length, agreed, in order not to retard the pacification between the potentates principally intereſted, that the affair of Saluzzo ſhould be referred to the arbitration of the pope, who was bound to decide on it within a year. Charles Emanuel reſtored to France the town of Berre in Provence, his ſole remaining acquiſition beyond the Alps [42].

Saluzzo.

Treaty with Savoy.

May.

Oppoſition of England and Holland.

The warm oppoſition, made by the queen of England, and the States General of Holland, delayed the publication, but, could not finally prevent the accompliſhment of peace. Elizabeth remonſtrated, reproached, and made, by the mouth of her miniſters, the greateſt offers of aſſiſtance, military and naval, for the proſecution of hoſtilities. But, Henry, ſecure of obtaining from Philip, all that he could hope to regain by force, in conjunction with his allies; pleaded, not without reaſon, in extenuation for breach of his engage-

[42] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 116—118. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 210, 211. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 59—61.

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ments, the exhauſted condition of France. He even offered to include her, as well as the States, in the treaty; but, his propoſition was rejected by both powers, as equally contrary to the independance of the Dutch, and to the intereſts of the Engliſh[43]. The king having, therefore, fulfilled, at leaſt, the external demonſtrations of friendſhip towards his confederates; no longer heſitated to ſign a peace, which ſecured to him more than he could have expected from the moſt proſperous campaign. Except the county of Charolois, a ſmall dependancy of Burgundy, he poſſeſſed no part of the Spaniſh monarchy. Philip reſtored, beſides ſeveral frontier towns of Picardy, the two important places and harbours, of Calais, and of Blavet in Brittany.

Concluſion of peace.

If we reflect on the facility which they afforded him, of landing forces, and of invading France in her moſt vulnerable quarters: if we conſider the enormous expenditure of treaſure which thoſe acquiſitions coſt him, and the difficulty of their being reconquered by an enemy ſo exhauſted as Henry; we ſhall admit, that, at a more active period of his reign, the Catholic king would not have acquieſced in ſo inglorious a treaty. But, he was already ſinking under the diſeaſes, which ſhortly afterwards conducted him to the grave; and his anxiety to devolve the Spaniſh monarchy to his ſucceſſor, unembarraſſed by a foreign war, augmented, as he approached the cloſe of life. The arch-duke, Albert, not leſs impatient to accompliſh his marriage with the infanta; and apprehenſive, leſt any unforeſeen impediment to its completion might ariſe, accelerated the negotiation. Cambray alone was retained by Spain, as having been reconquered from an uſurper, and not taken from its rightful prince. If the peace of Cateau, made by Philip, near forty years preceding, with Henry the Second, was injurious and diſhonorable to France; that of Vervins, was equally advantageous and beneficial. It covered Henry with perſonal glory, and proportionately humbled the houſe

Conſiderations on the treaty of Vervins.

Its beneficial effects to France.

[43] Sully, vol. i. p. 380, 381. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 125—127.

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of Auſtria, which had ſo long impreſſed Europe with terror. The publication of the treaty, was every where accompanied with teſtimonies of joy; and it was regarded as the ſignal and commencement of a new period of felicity [44]. Biron, raiſed by the king, to the rank of a duke and peer, in conſideration of his ſervices to the crown, was diſpatched to Bruſſels, in order to ſwear, on the part of his maſter, to the obſervance of the articles. He was received with honors and diſtinctions, above the condition of a ſubject; flattered by extravagant encomiums on his valor; and treated as the reſtorer and ſaviour of the French monarchy. The inſidious poiſon of ſuch praiſes, operating on a mind already diſtempered by ambition, arrogant, and deeming every recompence below its merits; was eventually productive of moſt fatal conſequences. It ſhook his fidelity and allegiance, excited convulſions in the ſtate, and finally conducted Biron himſelf to a premature and ignominious death [45].

1598.
12th June.
26th June. Biron is ſent to Bruſſels.

[44] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 209—213. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 47—66. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 128—130. Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 187—192. Mem. de Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 13—21. Cayet. Chron. Septenaire, a Paris, 1605, p. 8—11.

[45] Mem. de Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 22—25. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 75—83. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 218. Journ. d'Hen. IV, vol. i. p. 192, 193. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 156, 157. Sully, vol. i. p. 391, 392.

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State of France, at the concluſion of the peace of Vervins.—Firſt meaſures of Henry.—Death of Philip the Second.—Ambitious projects of Gabrielle d'Etrées.—Her death.—Fermentation, and diſcontents in the kingdom.—Divorce of the king.—Amours of Henry.—Viſit of the duke of Savoy.—Ineffectual negotiation of that prince.—His return.—Domeſtic tranſactions.—War with Savoy.—Rapid progreſs of the French arms.—Inactivity of the duke of Savoy.—Conferences for peace.—Marriage of Henry, with Mary of Medecis.—Concluſion of the treaty with Savoy.—Reflexions on it.—Tranquillity of France.—Birth of the Dauphin.—Internal regulations.—Alliance renewed with the Switzers.—Commotions in Poitou.—Conſpiracy of Biron, revealed by La Fin.—Arreſt of Biron.—His trial, and execution.—Reflexions.

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1598. July.

Situation of Henry.

By the treaty of Vervins, Henry the Fourth beheld himſelf the undiſputed poſſeſſor of the crown of France. After having vanquiſhed the moſt powerful faction which ever aroſe in any ſtate, and which had nearly accompliſhed the deſtruction of the monarchy; his valor, conſtancy, and fortune, had ſurmounted all the efforts of foreign enemies. Philip the Second, his inveterate and implacable rival, had not only recognized his title; but, had reſtored all the conqueſts made during the period of anarchy and commotion, which followed the death of the late king. France, which for a period of near forty years, ſince the acceſſion of Francis the Second, had been deſolated by its own citizens, reſumed its antient ſituation and weight in the ſyſtem of Europe; nor, if we except the marquiſate of Saluzzo, had a ſingle fortreſs, or town, been diſmembered from the kingdom.

But,

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But, a more toilſome and laborious, though a leſs dangerous taſk, remained to be accompliſhed: the reſtoration of order, the revival of induſtry, the alleviation of the public miſery, and the diffuſion of tranquillity, civilization, and obedience to the laws. It required talents, widely different from thoſe which Henry had hitherto exerted, to produce theſe beneficial changes; and the qualities of a general would be of little avail, without the wiſdom and policy of a legiſlator. It is in the latter capacity, that we are henceforward principally to contemplate him; and in which, by an uncommon example of felicity, he lays the ſtrongeſt claim to eſteem and admiration.

State of France,

France, at the reſtoration of peace, had ſuffered almoſt every calamity, except the extinction of its exiſtence and independance, by which a ſtate could be afflicted. The majeſty of the crown had been degraded by the puſillanimity, and polluted by the vices, of the laſt prince of the family of Valois. His diſſipation had anticipated the revenues, alienated the royal domains, and involved the finances in almoſt inextricable ruin. The ſanctity of the laws was violated, and

and of Paris.

the aſylum of juſtice, converted into an engine of oppreſſion. Paris, the capital of the kingdom, garriſoned by Neapolitans and Walloons, beſieged by hoſtile armies, preſſed by famine without, and tyrannized within; preſented only an emaciated and extenuated ſhadow of its former population, opulence, and proſperity. The nobility, accuſtomed to all the licentious violence of civil war, acted like the deſpots of a conquered country; and practiſed, with impunity, every outrage on the inferior orders. Abuſes, equally ſubverſive of piety, and contrary to decorum, had crept into the Gallican church, and re-

Commerce.

quired the moſt vigorous exertions to eradicate. Commerce languiſhed, without protection: manufactures declined: many of the public roads had totally diſappeared, under thorns and briars: the communication from one province to another, was dangerous and precarious: faſtneſſes and caſtles covered the country, which ſerved as retreats to numbers of banditti; who, whether they adhered to the

royal

CHAP. VI. 1598.

royal cauſe, or to that of the League, were alike the ſcourges of the people. The unfortunate peaſant, purſued by rapacious collectors of the revenue, deſtitute of protection, pillaged, inſulted, and deſpiſed, was reduced to the laſt ſtage of poverty, and ſcarcely hoped for any ſalutary change [1].

Meaſures of the king.

From ſuch a complication of misfortunes, become inveterate, by long preſcription, only time, wiſdom, and the moſt lenient remedies, could extricate a nation. The firſt meaſures of the king were directed towards the preſervation of public tranquillity, ſafety, and property. In order to protect his ſubjects againſt the outrages of ſuch, as being diſbanded from the military ſervice by the reduction of the regular forces, might have recourſe to violence for ſubſiſtance; he iſſued an edict, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, the carrying of fire-arms [2]. A great diminution of the cavalry and infantry was made: but, in order to qualify a ſtep, which, however uſeful and neceſſary, was at once delicate and dangerous, permiſſion was given to ſerve in Flanders, and in Hungary [3]. To the clergy, who, having held an aſſembly of their own body in the metropolis, demanded of Henry, the ſpeedy reform of the venality, ſimony, and proſtitution of eccleſiaſtical preferments, which diſhonored the church; he replied with equal dignity, condeſcenſion, and circumſpection. His ſpeech, which is worthy of Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius, evinced at once his zealous attachment to the Catholic religion, and his conſciouſneſs that all expedients of ſeverity, or violence, would only aggravate the evil [4]. A remiſſion of the vaſt arrears of taxes, due from the people, but, which their poverty rendered them incapable of paying, was granted. Commiſſioners were ſent into the provinces, to enquire into, and to report on the abuſes, or grievances; and the letters, or patents of nobility, which in the late reign, had been one of the diſ-

4th Auguſt.

September.

Remiſſion of taxes.

[1] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 151, 152.

[2] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 218, 219. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 132. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 152, 153.

[3] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 153, 154.

[4] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 220, 221. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 160—163. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 133, 134.

graceful

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graceful modes adopted to fill the royal treaſury, underwent a rigorous examination [5]. The finances, which, under three ſucceſſive princes, had attained to the utmoſt point of ſubverſion and confuſion, aſſumed a new form, and were managed with conſummate ſkill. Henry's frugality was aided and ſuſtained by the inflexible integrity and parſimonious vigilance of the ſuperintendant, Roſny. France, liberated from foreign and domeſtic war, began already to feel the effects of a wiſe adminiſtration; and to enter upon that period of its hiſtory, which, if we compare it with the times by which it was preceded, and thoſe by which it was followed, may, perhaps, deſerve with more juſtice, than any other portion of its annals, the epithet of the golden age [6].

1598. Reform in the finances.

Philip the Second did not long ſurvive, to taſte the beneficial effects of that peace, for the attainment of which he had made ſuch important ſacrifices. Extenuated by the attacks of a cruel and loathſome diſeaſe, which baffled every effort to check its progreſs; he ſurmounted his ſufferings by a conſtancy and ſerenity, ſuperior to all eulogium. The ſanity of his mind, and the perſpicuity of his judgment, were neither diminiſhed, nor obſcured, by the decay of his frame, by age, nor by the moſt acute pain. Jealous and tenacious of his power, he continued to the laſt moments of his life, to retain, and to exerciſe the ſupreme authority. Anxious to ſecure his acquittal at the tribunal where he felt that he muſt ſpeedily appear, he had recourſe to all the ſuperſtitious obſervances, or practices, of credulity and terror. Deſirous to prolong his reign beyond the grave, he laid down the moſt ſpecific injunctions for the conduct of his only ſon; while he ſecured to his beloved daughter, Clara Iſabella, the rich inheritance of the Low Countries, diſſevered in her favor from the Spaniſh monarchy [7]. With him, may be ſaid to have ſunk that

Death of Philip the Second. 13th September.

Diſpoſitions of that prince.

[5] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p 159, 160.
[6] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 159.
[7] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 225—238. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 134—137. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 95—148. Memoires de Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 30—42. Sully, vol. i. p. 408, 409. Chron. Septenn. p. 24—31.

enormous

enormous and gigantic power, which had ſo long menaced, invaded, and even nearly, at times, ſubjected Europe. Only the ſhadow ſurvived under his feeble ſucceſſors, who were incapable of propelling into vigorous action, a diſjointed, torpid, and exhauſted maſs. The incapacity of Philip the Third, his indolence, and inaptitude for affairs of moment, augmented, and rendered incurable, the diſeaſes of the ſtate. Spain, under his government, continued eſſentially, though, during ſome years, not oſtenſibly, to decline; as France, from the ſame æra, roſe with ſimilar rapidity, in the ſcale of European powers.

The ſtability of the crown, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, might be ſaid, nevertheleſs, to repoſe on a very precarious baſis, while Henry was deſtitute of legitimate iſſue, to inherit his dominions. Not only the age of his preſumptive ſucceſſor, the young prince of Condé, who had not paſſed the limits of childhood; but, the circumſtances of his birth rendered his title ſubject to queſtion; and it was to be apprehended, that in caſe of Henry's deceaſe, the ambition of the count of Soiſſons, or the factions latent in the vitals of the country, would involve France in new calamities [a]. Gabrielle d'Etrées, recently created ducheſs of Beaufort, already nouriſhed and matured the project of aſcending the throne. Her perſonal beauty, the amenity of her manners, and the charms of her ſociety, had given her an almoſt unbounded aſcendant over her lover; and ſhe had recently produced him a ſecond ſon. The beneficence of her diſpoſition, which diſpoſed her to acts of generoſity and kindneſs, had procured her numerous adherents in the court; nor, if the qualities of her mind alone were conſidered, did ſhe appear to be unworthy of ſo great an elevation. Henry was himſelf diſpoſed to legitimate his union with her; and he even ventured indirectly, to ſound the Papal legate on the ſubject. But, that prelate,

Gabrielle d'Etrées.

Her character.

[a] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 376, 377.

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conſcious of the fatal conſequences which muſt inevitably reſult from ſuch a meaſure, declined all interference in its negotiation, or accompliſhment. Even Margaret of Valois herſelf, though immured in a fortreſs among the mountains of Auvergne, and not averſe to the diſſolution of her marriage, in order to enable the king to give heirs to the ſtate; yet, peremptorily refuſed to conſent to a divorce, if Gabrielle was to occupy her place [9]. In defiance, nevertheleſs, of theſe impediments, ſhe perſiſted in her deſign; and Sillery, one of the moſt able miniſters of that period, was ſent to Rome, with injunctions to preſs its ſpeedy deciſion. Clement, averſe to gratify the king, at the expence of decorum, and at the hazard of entailing endleſs misfortunes on the kingdom, interpoſed many delays to the proceeding; but, it is probable that they would have been eaſily ſurmounted, if the premature death of the ducheſs, which took place ſoon afterwards, had not overturned her projects of ambition [10].

1598. Impediments to Henry's divorce.

1599. January.

29th January. Marriage of the princeſs Catherine.

Catherine, princeſs of Navarre, only ſiſter of Henry, was rather ſacrificed, than married, nearly at this time. She eſpouſed the duke of Bar, eldeſt ſon and heir of the duke of Lorrain. The two parties were equally victims to the policy of their reſpective courts; and the union was neither laſting, fortunate, nor fruitful. Catherine's inflexible attachment to the tenets of the reformed religion; the bigotry, or ſcruples of her huſband; and the advanced age of the princeſs, which rendered it improbable that ſhe ever could have iſſue, conduced to their mutual infelicity. It was not even without the greateſt difficulty, that any prelate could be perſuaded to pronounce the nuptial benediction; and it required all the interpoſition of the king's authority, to ſurmount the repugnance manifeſted by the eccleſiaſtics on the occaſion [11].

[9] Sully, vol. i. p. 427, 428.

[10] Amours d'Henry IV., a Leyde, 1663, p. 53—56. Sully, vol. i. p. 382—386, and p. 404—407. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 139, 140, and p. 143, 144. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 76—79.

[11] Sully, vol. i. p. 416, 417. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 140, 141. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 59—69. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 204, 205. Chron. Sept. p. 64.

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The diſpute between Henry and the duke of Savoy, relative to the marquiſate of Saluzzo, which at the treaty of Vervins, had been referred to the judgment of the Papal ſee; far from advancing to a determination, ſeemed to be involved in almoſt inſuperable difficulties. Charles Emanuel, in poſſeſſion of the territory litigated, not only refuſed to reſign, or to entruſt it to any perſon named by Clement, during the continuance of the proceſs; but, he attempted to elude, or to corrupt the arbitrator himſelf. Secretly ſupported by the court of Madrid; determined never to relinquiſh, except by force, the object in diſpute; and relying on the reluctance, or inability of the king, to come to a rupture; he perpetually invented new ſubterfuges to evade a ſurrender of his uſurpation. Yet, conſcious of the inferiority of his ſtrength, and deprecating hoſtilities, he expreſſed on every occaſion, his readineſs to terminate the affair, by pacific and amicable negotiation [12].

Diſputes relative to Saluzzo.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions of policy, and at the moment when her ſchemes ſeemed to be on the point of completion, Gabrielle d'Etrées was carried off by a death no leſs ſudden, than violent. On the moſt candid and impartial conſideration of all the ſymptoms which preceded, and accompanied her diſtemper, it is difficult not to ſuppoſe, that unnatural means were uſed to haſten, or to produce her end. It muſt, nevertheleſs, remain among thoſe problematical events, of which hiſtory is full, and relative to which no abſolute certainty can be obtained. The king ſhewed great ſenſibility for her loſs; though his heart, incapable of remaining long unoccupied, ſoon transferred his fondneſs for Gabrielle, to a new object. When we conſider the dangers which Henry had ſurmounted, in his attainment of the throne, and the perpetual vigilance which it demanded, to retain in ſubjection a people grown familiar with rebellion and civil war; we cannot ſufficiently wonder at his weakneſs in committing to hazard

Death of Gabrielle. 10th April.

Reflexions on that event.

[12] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 367—373. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 283—307. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 163—165.

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ſo vaſt an acquiſition. When we reflect on the wiſdom, vigor, and affection for his ſubjects, which characterize and illuminate his general adminiſtration; we are penetrated with concern, to ſee him ſacrificing every public conſideration to the gratifications of paſſion. It muſt, however reluctantly, be admitted, that, throughout his whole life, and not leſs in its decline, than during its meridian, he was, on the article of love; (if, indeed, a tranſitory and criminal impulſe can merit that title;) inferior in prudence and conduct, to ordinary men. His marriage with Gabrielle, had it been accompliſhed, muſt have rendered him, in ſome meaſure, contemptible to his own ſubjects, and to foreign nations. It would have awakened all the dormant factions of the ſtate, involved the ſucceſſion in obſcurity, weakened the energy of the government, and eventually plunged the country into calamities more irremediable than thoſe from which it was ſo recently extricated [13].

Internal agitation of the kingdom.

France, though no longer in a ſtate of foreign, or internal war, was, nevertheleſs, capable, from the ſlighteſt cauſes, of being dangerouſly agitated; and, like the ocean, after a tempeſt, it ſtill continued to heave. A wretched mechanic, whoſe daughter had been taught, to counterfeit the contortions of a demoniac, had nearly endangered the tranquillity of the metropolis, and of the kingdom. Such was the credulity, ignorance, and diſpoſition of the lower claſſes to believe in every abſurdity, which aſſumed a ſupernatural appearance, that they crouded to behold this impoſtreſs, and to liſten to her ravings. It was in vain, that phyſicians, and prelates of the higheſt ſanctity, declared her to be ſuch: the interference of the royal authority, and the interpoſition of the parliament, became neceſſary to ſuppreſs and extinguiſh an exhibition, which, it was dreaded, might

[13] Amours d'Hen. IV., p. 56—60. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 307—309. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 388, 389. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 211, 212. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 79—86. Sully, vol. i. p. 421—425. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 144, 145. Chron. Septenn. p. 77, 78.

be

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be converted to purpoſes of ſedition [14]. The edict of Nantes had excited the murmurs of the diſaffected, the bigotted, and the intolerant. Diſcontents prevailed among the nobility, who, accuſtomed to the licence and diſorders of civil war, were already weary of a peace, which reduced them to comparative inſignificance and dependance. Biron, incapable of concealing, or of moderating his reſentment at the ſuppoſed ingratitude of the king, exhaled his anger in complaints, in menaces, and even in opprobrious invectives againſt his ſovereign. His criminal deſigns inſpired alarm, and he ſeemed to emulate the example of the duke of Guiſe, under a prince of a different character from Henry the Third [15]. The pulpits of Paris began to reſound with inſolent and violent declamations, calculated to ſhake the allegiance of the weak, the ſuperſtitious, and the diſloyal. All the exertions of the executive government were demanded, to impoſe ſilence on theſe eccleſiaſtics [16]. More than one deſperate fanatic, who had undertaken to aſſaſſinate the king, was ſeized, convicted, and executed. It encreaſed the horror of the diſcovery, to know that the Papal nuntio at Bruſſels had inſtigated them to commit ſo atrocious a crime; and he had ſelected his agents from the monaſtic orders [17]. The court of Spain ſecretly fomented theſe ſeeds of diſcontent, or commotion, and endeavoured to undermine the foundations of that throne, which it had not been able to overturn by violence.

1599. Effects of the edict of Nantes.

Seditious ſermons.

Fanaticiſm.

The Netherlands had, meanwhile, been transferred, in virtue of the laſt diſpoſitions of Philip the Second, to the infanta, conjointly with the arch-duke, her huſband. After his deceaſe, the young king religiouſly fulfilled his father's dying injunctions. The nuptial ceremony was performed at Valentia: the two princes returned to Bruſſels, and with the conſent of the ſtates of the Low Countries,

Transfer of the Low Countries, to Albert and Iſabella.

Auguſt.

[14] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 392—407. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 334—342. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 209—211, and p. 213, and p. 216.

[15] Mezeray, vol. x. 155—157.

[16] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 213—215.

[17] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 417—423.

aſſumed

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assumed the sovereign authority. A new power appeared to arise in Europe, which from its central position between France, England, Germany, and Holland, added to its maritime strength, industry, and commerce, might materially affect the policy and interests of all the surrounding countries. But, the independance of Albert and Isabella, was only nominal; and Philip had taken ample precautions to secure either the obedience, or the reversion, of those valuable provinces, to his successors. Even though the infanta's marriage should be productive of issue, a circumstance very problematical; yet, so binding were the ties which chained the Netherlands to the Spanish monarchy, that no possible revolution, except that of conquest by a foreign enemy, appeared to be capable of weakening, or dissolving them [18]. Nor did the arrival of the new sovereigns promise any speedy termination to the long war with the republic of Holland, nor any salutary change in the principles and system of its conduct. The offer, made to the United States by the arch-duke, for an accommodation, when he announced to them, his approaching nuptials, and the cession made by the Catholic king to his daughter, was deemed inadmissible, and rejected almost without the forms of consideration [19].

Conditions, annexed to it by Spain.

Divorce of Henry.

The dissolution of Henry's marriage, which had met with some impediments at Rome, while Gabrielle d'Etrées was alive, advanced rapidly after her decease, to a final determination. Margaret of Valois herself joined in the supplication to the sovereign pontiff; and the honor of the repudiated princess, was carefully preserved in all the proceedings. Compulsion, and the defect of various formalities in the nuptial contract, as well as consanguinity, were the pretexts upon which the commissioners named by Clement, proceeded to pronounce a sentence of divorce [20]. The parliament of Paris had already

10th November.

[18] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 251—255. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 178—185. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 137, 138.

[19] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 255—257.

[20] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 379—383. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 430—433. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 220, 221.

addreſſed the king, in terms of affection and energy, to beſeech of him to make choice of a queen; and they had not ſcrupled to exhort him to ſelect for his partner in the French throne, a princeſs of royal, or ſovereign extraction, as alone worthy of ſo diſtinguiſhed an elevation [21]. His embaſſadors in Italy, cardinal d'Oſſat, and Sillery, authorized for the purpoſe, opened a propoſition in his name, at the court of Tuſcany, for the hand of Mary of Medecis, niece to the reigning grand duke, Ferdinand, and daughter to his elder brother, Francis. It was received with teſtimonies of the higheſt ſatisfaction, and ſolemnized by procuration in the enſuing year. We are naturally impreſſed with ſome degree of wonder, that the king ſhould voluntarily wiſh to form ſo cloſe and intimate a connexion with a family, which not only was beneath the rank of crowned heads; but, which, from his ſenſe of the recent enmity of Catherine of Medecis towards the houſe of Bourbon, and eſpecially towards himſelf, muſt naturally have been regarded by him with a ſpecies of alienation. His choice was, in effect, dictated by neceſſity: neither the Spaniſh, nor the imperial branch of Auſtria, poſſeſſed at that time, any princeſs of an age proper for marriage; and Henry did not judge it conſiſtent with policy or prudence, to enter into a matrimonial union with the daughter of a Proteſtant ſovereign [22].

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Negotiation begun at Florence.

Reflexions on that choice.

Unfortunately for his domeſtic repoſe, in the interval of a few months which elapſed between the deceaſe of Gabrielle, and the firſt propoſal for his marriage with Mary of Medecis, he had already diſpoſed of his affections, and almoſt of his hand. Hiſtory, which ought only to commemorate actions of a national and public nature, is too frequently compelled to deſcend to the vices, the weakneſſes, and the amours of kings. They have, in every period, influenced deeply and materially, the fate of empires, and the felicity of

Amours of Henry.

[21] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 375—378.
[22] Sully, vol. i. p. 382, 383. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 384, 385.

mankind;

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mankind; nor has this truth, perhaps, ever been more forcibly exemplified, than in the reign under our conſideration. If we would love and venerate the character of Henry the Fourth, we muſt conſider him in his kingly capacity, as the conqueror, the reſtorer, and the father of France. He ſinks, when we inſpect his perſonal and private life; where, by a natural and unavoidable compariſon, he appears leſs, from his preceding greatneſs.

Character of Henrietta d'Entragues.

Henrietta d'Entragues was deſtined to ſucceed to the place, occupied by Gabrielle d'Etrées. If her perſonal attractions were not equal to thoſe of her predeceſſor, ſhe compenſated for it by all the charms of coquetry, gaiety, and ſuperior powers of amuſement. Capricious, haughty, inflexible, arrogant, ſhe was deſtitute of the ſoftneſs and tenderneſs which the king had found in the object of his former paſſion. Inſtructed by her mother, the celebrated Mary Touchet, miſtreſs of Charles the Ninth, and perfectly aware of the predominant weakneſs of the prince who purſued her; ſhe artfully inflamed his deſires, while ſhe protracted their fruition. Availing herſelf of his ardor, impatience, and fondneſs, ſhe exacted from him, previous to the ſurrender of her honor, an engagement, that, if in conſequence of the gratification of his wiſhes, ſhe ſhould produce him a ſon within a year, he would legitimate his connexion with her, by raiſing her to his throne and bed.

Henry contracts with her an engagement.

Henry, in defiance of the generous remonſtrances and fruitleſs oppoſition of Roſny, delivered to her in writing, a paper ſuch as ſhe demanded. It encreaſes our condemnation of the act, when we reflect that he was already paſt the period of life, at which the violence of the paſſions is uſually felt, and that he could neither plead youth nor inexperience in his juſtification. Furniſhed with ſo dangerous a weapon to invade his future tranquillity, Henrietta ſubmitted to all his deſires: but, the king had frequent reaſon, during the courſe of his reign, to lament his error; and he experienced in its fulleſt extent, the fatal

conſe-

consequences that result from the vengeance of an offended and vindictive woman [23].

1599. Charles Emanuel visits France.

Wearied with fruitless endeavours to obtain from Henry the cession or dereliction of the marquisate of Saluzzo, and confident in his own powers of insinuation; the duke of Savoy embraced the precipitate resolution of repairing in person, to the court of France. Neither the remonstrances of his wisest ministers, nor the apprehension of exciting the jealousy and resentment of Philip the Third, his brother-in-law; could prevail on Charles Emanuel to postpone his design. The coldness with which the proposition was received by the king, produced no alteration whatever in his conduct. In defiance of winter, he quitted Turin, descended the Rhone to Lyons; and thence pursuing his journey through the interior provinces, to Orleans, he arrived at Fontainbleau. The interview of the two princes at that palace, was accompanied with every external demonstration of amity; and Henry, after a stay of a few days, conducted his guest to Paris, where, during a residence of more than two months, he was amused with continual exhibitions of varied pleasure and magnificence [24]. But, Charles Emanuel was not long in discovering, that the unqualified and immediate restitution of the usurped marquisate, must precede every attempt on his part, to establish a friendship, or to form an alliance with the French crown. It was in vain, that he exerted by turns, the versatility, the eloquence, and the blandishments of flattery, which he eminently possessed, in order to soften the king. He soon found, that Henry was equally inaccessible to the allurements of ambition, to the promises of interest, and to the supplications of humility. Instead of the facility and prodigality which had characterized Henry the Third, he met with inflexible firmness, sustained by reason, and only irritated by resistance. His

13th Dec. His reception.

1600. January.

His negotiations, and intrigues.

[23] Sully, vol. i. p. 429—431. Amours d'Henry IV., p. 60—62. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 167, 168. Memoires de Basompierre, a Cologne, 1721, tome i. p. 42—46.

[24] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 419—432.

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efforts to corrupt, or to remove, the principal obſtacles to his ſucceſs, were ineffectual. The demand which he ventured to make, that Henry ſhould abandon the protection of the city of Geneva, excited indignation in the council of ſtate. All his offers to facilitate the conqueſt of Milan and of Naples, made no impreſſion on a prince, already ſatiated with war, covered with glory, and who felt the neceſſity of peace, in order to reſtore and re-invigorate the kingdom. The interpoſition of Henrietta d'Entragues, recently created marchioneſs of Verneuil, whom he had engaged in his intereſts, could not induce the king to depart from his demands; and Charles Emanuel, though endowed with almoſt all the great qualities that uſually ſecure ſucceſs, beheld himſelf in a ſituation, at once unfortunate and humiliating [25].

1600. Henry rejects them.

Criminal projects of the duke of Savoy,

Driven to deſpair by a treatment that he had not expected, and which he did not venture openly to reſent; fruſtrated in all his hopes; and incapable of yielding the territory which he had uſurped; the duke embraced a ſyſtem, which promiſed him better ſucceſs. He was well acquainted with the various cauſes of diſcontent that exiſted in the French court and monarchy: nor did he want ſpies, or agents, to facilitate all his machinations. By artfully inflaming the ſecret reſentment of Biron againſt his ſovereign; by miſrepreſentations, flattery, and inſidious arts of every kind, he totally overturned the allegiance, and ſeduced the loyalty of that miſguided nobleman. Reſolutions of a criminal nature, which, as it afterwards appeared, were ſubverſive of the repoſe of France, and even of the throne itſelf, were entered into between them. La Fin, a Burgundian gentleman, to whoſe treachery and duplicity Biron ultimately fell a victim, carried on the intercourſe; and Charles Emanuel, anxious to ſecure an aſſociate of ſuch rank, capacity, and reſources, did not heſitate to attach

with Biron.

[25] Chron. Septen. p. 98—101. Sully, vol. i. p. 433—435. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 445—448. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 434—437. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 169—172. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 221—223, and p. 227, 228. Guichenon, Hiſt. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 769, 770.

him

him by promiſes of the moſt flattering kind. Time and favorable conjunctures were alone wanting to mature their plans; nor could occaſions fail to preſent themſelves for carrying into execution their treaſonable intentions [26]. 1600.

As it was become, nevertheleſs, indiſpenſable to fix a period to the duke of Savoy's reſidence in the kingdom, and to conclude ſome agreement relative to Saluzzo; the commiſſioners, named by the two princes for tranſacting the affair, at length terminated it by a definitive treaty. It was optional, and left to the duke the choice, either of reſtoring, in the ſpace of three months, the uſurped marquiſate; or of ceding in compenſation for it, the county of Breſſe, with Bourg, its capital; the caſtle of Pignerol, and ſome other vallies contiguous to the province of Dauphiné. Having ſigned the conditions, with apparent teſtimonies of ſatisfaction, Charles Emanuel quitted the court of France, and returned into his own dominions; leaving the king, as well as all thoſe who had approached his perſon, impreſſed with ſentiments of admiration at the variety of his talents, the magnificence of his donations, the condeſcenſion of his manners, and the elevation of his character. Even the injuſtice of his demands, and the failure of all his efforts for retaining the territory in diſpute, could not obſcure the luſtre of thoſe great qualities, which, if they had not been ſullied by ambition, and ſtained with perfidy, would have placed him among the moſt illuſtrious princes of the age in which he lived [27].

Treaty, concluded. 27th Feb. 2d March. Return of Charles Emanuel.

By a ſingular tranſition, which ſtrongly characterizes the genius of the century, theſe negotiations of ſtate were immediately ſucceeded by controverſies of divinity. Du Perron, biſhop of Evreux, a pre-

Conference of Fontainbleau.

[26] Guichenon, Hiſt. de Sav. vol. i. p. 772, 773. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 437—439. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 448—450. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 172—174. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 468—470.

[27] Chron. Septenn. p. 110—145. Guichenon, Hiſt. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 770—772. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 441—444. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 518—528. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 174, 175. Sully, vol. i. p. 442. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 466—468.

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late celebrated for the elegance of his talents, having ſent a theological defiance to du Pleſſis Mornay, one of the Hugonot chiefs, on the ſubject of a work compoſed by the latter upon the Euchariſt; the two diſputants appeared in perſon, to defend their reſpective tenets, at Fontainbleau. Henry, whoſe whole life had been paſſed in camps, and whoſe amuſements or occupations ſeemed to have little analogy with polemical ſubjects; was preſent, attended by the great officers of the crown, and many of the nobility. He only aſſumed the quality of ſpectator, and, in ſome meaſure, of moderator; three perſons of eminence having been named arbitrators of the diſpute. It was not among the leaſt curious circumſtances accompanying it, that the duke of Mayenne, who only a few years preceding, had opened the convocation of the States General in Paris, as head of the League, and as the repreſentative of the kingly dignity; aſſiſted at this conference, in the humble capacity of a private courtier. The partiality of the king, who was deſirous to ſacrifice du Pleſſis at the ſhrine of the Papal power; the timidity of the arbitrators; the eloquence of du Perron, accuſtomed to the ſubtilties of ſcholaſtic controverſy; and, perhaps, the temerity of du Pleſſis, who had engaged to defend a number of propoſitions or citations of doubtful authority: all theſe combined cauſes gave to the Catholic champion an eaſy victory. It was announced by Henry, with teſtimonies of exultation, little becoming the dignity of his character; and indecent in a prince, the ſincerity of whoſe converſion to the Romiſh faith, muſt always have been matter of doubt and uncertainty [28].

4th May.

Circumſtances attending it.

His marriage with Mary of Medecis, which had been in agitation during ſeveral months, was concluded at this time, and publiſhed at Florence, with demonſtrations of joy. The princeſs had already paſſed

25th April. Concluſion of Henry's marriage.

[28] Chron. Sept. p. 125—141. Hiſt. de du Pleſſis, liv. ii. p. 260—273. Embaſſades de du Perron, Paris, 1623, p. 75—78. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 445—449. Matt. vol. i. liv. iii. p. 535—562. Sully, vol. i. p. 441. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 177—181. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 234—245. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 471.

the

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the flower of youth: but, the beauty of her perſon, and the modeſty of her deportment, inſpired favorable expectations of the future queen. Henry, throughout the whole courſe of the tranſaction, appears to have been paſſive, and to have allowed his miniſters to diſpoſe of his hand, as of a thing in which he had little perſonal concern. The recollection of his firſt marriage with Margaret of Valois, ſo unproductive of felicity; his habits of inconſtancy and diſſipation; and the dread of domeſtic altercations, if the wife, deſtined for him, ſhould be of a temper violent, or unaccommodating; theſe natural reflexions rendered him not merely indifferent, but, even reluctant to enter anew into the ſame ſtate. Other embarraſſments added weight to them: the marchioneſs of Verneuil was pregnant, and demanded with importunity, the accompliſhment of his promiſe, if ſhe produced him a ſon. On the other hand, the princeſs of Florence was diſtant; the nuptial ſolemnity was incomplete, while not conſummated; and it might yet be in ſome meaſure doubtful, which of the two rivals would eventually aſcend the throne [29]. Fortune decided the conteſt. The marchioneſs, terrified by the effects of a thunder-ſtorm, miſcarried; and an event, at once ſo happy and ſo unexpected, while it liberated the king from his engagement, left him free to follow the wiſhes of his people [30].

Situation of the king.

On the arrival of the duke of Savoy at Turin, it ſoon became evident, that he would not fulfil the treaty lately concluded at Paris. When ſummoned by the French embaſſadors to execute it, and to make the option left him, he demanded a prolongation of the term: but, his conduct ſufficiently diſcloſed the inſincerity of his intentions. Henry, not leſs determined to compel him by violence, if negotiation was ineffectual, advanced therefore, to Lyons, with a view of being nearer the ſcene of action, and of propelling by his preſence, the

May. Duke of Savoy refuſes to accompliſh the treaty.

9th July.

[29] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 245, 246. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 533, 534. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 552, 553. Sully, vol. i. p. 436. Chron. Sept. p. 120, 121.

[30] Sully, vol. i. p. 442. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 185, 186. Amours d'Henry IV., p. 61, 62.

tardineſs

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tardineſs of the miniſters employed on either ſide. Apprehenſive of immediate hoſtilities, and deſirous to protract, if he could not avert, ſo great a misfortune; Charles Emanuel had recourſe to his uſual artifices. A new treaty, confirmatory and explanatory of the former one, was concluded at Lyons: but, at the moment when the king, in virtue of it, prepared to take poſſeſſion of Saluzzo, the duke threw off the maſk, and declared that the moſt calamitous war would be preferable to the accompliſhment of ſo ignominious and ruinous an agreement. Hoſtilities inſtantly commenced on the part of France, and were proſecuted with equal vigor, celerity, and ſucceſs. While Biron entered the province of Breſſe, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Bourg, almoſt without loſs; Crequi, diſpatched by Leſdiguieres, carried the town of Montmelian, with ſimilar rapidity. Chamberry, capital of the duchy of Savoy, attacked by Henry in perſon, capitulated in a few days. The fortreſs of Conflans, which defended the entrance of the Tarentaiſe, ſurrendered. Miolans opened its gates; and Charbonnieres, the key of the Maurienne, after a ſiege of fifteen days, followed the example. Leſdiguieres, at the ſame time, penetrated into that province, entered the capital, and ſubjected the whole country, to the foot of Mount Cenis. Of all the dominions ſubject to Savoy, weſt of the Alps, only the citadels of Montmelian and of Bourg, together with the fort St. Catherine in the vicinity of the city of Geneva, continued to make reſiſtance [31].

Negotiations at Lyons.

Auguſt.

Hoſtilities.

13th Auguſt.

23d Auguſt.

Succeſs of Henry.

19th Sept.

During theſe exploits, which ſeemed to menace him with a fate not leſs ſevere than that of his anceſtor, Charles the Third, deſpoiled by Francis the Firſt; the duke of Savoy remained in a ſtate of inaction at Turin. He did not even ſuſpend the courſe of his ordinary pleaſures; and though he made an effort to ſtop the torrent, by

Inactivity of the duke of Savoy.

[31] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 517—525. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 183—193. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 774, 775. Sully, vol. i. p. 443—450. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 570—584, and p. 587—592, and p. 598—604. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 471—476. Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 48—51. Chron. Sept. p. 162—169.

means of Calatagirone, who had been inſtrumental towards producing the peace of Vervins, and whom he diſpatched to Henry, with offers of accompliſhing the treaty of Paris; yet, he appeared to be totally inſenſible to the loſs of his territories, and the capture of his places. He relied on a variety of ſecret ſprings, more effectual than arms, for his extrication. The oppoſition of many individuals in the counſels, or cabinet of France; the effects of his treaſonable correſpondence with Biron: the approach of winter, in a mountainous country, covered with almoſt perpetual ſnow: and the powerful aſſiſtance of Philip the Third, king of Spain, deeply intereſted in the preſervation of Savoy, as well as in the excluſion of the French from Italy. In all theſe expectations, he was, nevertheleſs, deceived. The puſillanimity of the French miniſters who oppoſed a rupture, was overruled by the king's vigor and determination; as the obſtacles ariſing from the nature of the territory and climate, were anticipated by his rapidity. Biron, though he had entered into the moſt criminal intrigues with Charles Emanuel, as well as with Spain, wanted means, or ability, to execute them; and all his motions were watched with jealous circumſpection.

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Cauſes of it.

His ſchemes are fruſtrated.

The court of Madrid was deſtitute of energy; and beheld with indifference a conteſt, in which, at other periods, it would have interfered in the moſt decided manner. Philip the Third, unwarlike, indolent, and feeble, had reſigned the government to his miniſter, or, rather, his favorite, the duke of Lerma; who poſſeſſed neither the talents, nor the inclination, to venture on plunging his maſter into a war. In Flanders, the Spaniards had recently ſuſtained a defeat near Nieuport, where Maurice, prince of Orange, obtained a ſignal victory over the arch-duke Albert; and it was requiſite to ſend ſupplies to that quarter. The count de Fuentes alone, governor of the Milaneſe, deſired to march to Charles Emanuel's aſſiſtance. He was at the head of a numerous army; and his implacable animoſity towards the French king, impelled him

Conduct of the court of Madrid,

and of Fuentes.

to

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to ſieze every occaſion of invading his repoſe, or diminiſhing his power. But, Fuentes was fettered by the inſtructions of the cabinet of Spain, and compelled to remain a reluctant ſpectator of the victories of his mortal enemy [32].

October. Capitulation of Montmelian.

The citadel of Montmelian appeared to oppoſe a more inſurmountable barrier to Henry's further progreſs. Its ſituation on the ſummit of an inſulated rock, the difficulty of approaching, and ſtill more, of bringing cannon to act againſt it with effect, added to the ſtrength of the works, ſeemed to bid defiance to all his efforts. But, the preſence of the king, the emulation between his officers, and the indefatigable exertions of Roſny, recently created maſter-general of the artillery, ſurmounted many of the impediments. The puſillanimity, or treachery of the governor, effected the reſt. Unmindful of his honor, the importance of the charge confided to him, and the fidelity due to his ſovereign; he conſented, after a ſhort and

16th Oct. feeble defence, to open a parley. It was ſtipulated, that the fortreſs ſhould ſurrender, if not ſuccoured by the duke within a month. Hoſtages were given for the execution of the articles, and intimation of the conditions was conveyed to Charles Emanuel, at Turin [33].

Alarm of the holy ſee.

Juſtly alarmed at the rapidity of the French conqueſts, Clement the Eighth, who had ſo lately mediated a peace at Vervins, by which he had hoped to ſecure the repoſe of Europe, began to manifeſt his apprehenſions. Lombardy, which, during more than forty years, had enjoyed a profound tranquillity, might again become the theatre of war. Henry, animated by the apparent facility of the enterprize, and ſeconded by a warlike nobility, victorious troops, and all the reſources of ſo powerful a monarchy as France, might ſpeedily enter Piedmont, and ſubject the Milaneſe. Italy would

[32] De Thou, vol xiii. p. 471—478. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 193, and p. 197—199. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 604, 605. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 776.

[33] Chron. Sept. p. 169—174. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 776, 777. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 525, 526, and p. 532, 533. Sully, vol. i. p. 450—453. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 612—616.

anew

anew be involved in the calamities which had desolated it during a great part of the sixteenth century; and the popes must be necessarily compelled to take a political, if not an active part, in the dissentions between the contending princes. If Henry should extend his claims to Naples, even the Papal dominions were not secure, and Rome might be sacked by some desperate, or vindictive chieftain, as it had been by the constable of Bourbon, under the pontificate of Clement the Seventh. Stimulated by these considerations, to which were joined the entreaties of the Spanish embassador at the court of Rome; Clement dispatched his nephew, cardinal Aldobrandini, to conjure the king of France to suspend his attacks. The legate having previously obtained from the duke of Savoy and the count de Fuentes, an assurance that they would acquiesce in, and faithfully execute the treaty of Paris; proceeded to Chamberry, where the king gave him audience. But, though Henry protested his desire of peace, and his disposition to maintain the articles agreed on at Vervins; he, nevertheless, refused to listen to any suspension of arms in the actual position of affairs, before the final surrender of Montmelian. That fortress, anticipating the term fixed for admitting the French, opened its gates; and the governor, by his subsequent conduct, and by retiring into France, sufficiently betrayed the disgraceful motives which had accelerated its evacuation [34].

Clement the Eighth interposes.

14th November. Surrender of Montmelian.

Charles Emanuel, roused at length from his inactivity by so many reverses; and deceived in his expectations of support, either from Biron's defection, or from the interference of Spain as a party in the war; prepared to make an effort for the preservation of his remaining dominions. He advanced into the province of Aoste, at the head of more than ten thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry, as if with intention to give battle to the enemy. Henry manifested equal impatience to decide the contest by an action. But,

Charles Emanuel takes the field.

12th November.

[34] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 777, 778. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 621—625, and p. 633—645, and p. 651. Sully, vol. i. p. 454.

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though the two armies were almoſt in ſight of each other, and only ſeparated by an intervening mountain; yet, ſuch was the nature of the country, the ſeverity of the weather, and the quantity of ſnow which fell, as to render all his efforts for the purpoſe, fruitleſs. He quitted therefore, the camp, and repaired in perſon to the ſiege of fort St. Catherine. This fortreſs, conſtructed at a vaſt expence, within two leagues of the city of Geneva, which it was intended to bridle; might ſtill, in ſo advanced a ſeaſon, have retarded the French arms for a conſiderable time. Unfortunately for the duke of Savoy, the governor, imitating the example of Montmelian, preferred capitulating, rather than defending the place. He obtained from the king, ample and favorable conditions. Amidſt ſo many inſtances of treachery, or cowardice, Bouvens, who commanded in the citadel of Bourg, magnanimouſly refuſed to liſten to any terms, however advantageous. In defiance of the preſſure of famine, and deſtitute of any hope of relief, he could neither be intimidated by the menaces, nor corrupted by the offers of the beſiegers; and if the improvidence of Charles Emanuel had not left him in want of proviſions, he would have finally repulſed every attempt to become maſter of the place [35].

Operations in Savoy.

6th December. Fort St. Catherine ſurrenders.

After the reduction of fort St. Catherine, Henry could no longer delay the conſummation of his nuptials with Mary of Medecis, who waited at Lyons, with impatience, his arrival. Embarking therefore, on the Rhone, he deſcended that river with the utmoſt expedition. The ſolemnity of the princeſs's marriage had been performed more than two months preceding, at Florence, by procuration, with extreme magnificence; the cardinal legate Aldobrandini officiating on the occaſion. Eſcorted by the Papal, Malteſe, and Tuſcan gallies, from Leghorn, and accompanied with a ſplendid retinue, ſhe

Arrival of Mary of Medecis, at Lyons.

3d November.

[35] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 476—479. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 537—541. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 778. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 197. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 653—659, and p. 660—663. Baſſomp. vol. i. tom. i. p. 52—54. Sully, vol. i. p. 456, 457. Chron. Sept. p. 174, 175.

coaſted

coaſted the Genoeſe territories; and after a ſtormy paſſage, entered the port of Marſeilles. She was received by the conſtable Montmorency, the chancellor, and many of the firſt nobility, whom Henry had diſpatched to welcome her, on her landing in France. Proceeding to Lyons, ſhe made her public entry into the city, amidſt the acclamations of the people; who regarded her union with the king, as at once the ſeal of his felicity, and the confirmation of the national repoſe, by the proſpect which it afforded of heirs to the throne. Henry himſelf arrived ſoon afterwards, in the equipage and habit of a ſoldier. Without waiting for a renewal of the nuptial benediction, he proceeded immediately to conſummate his marriage; though the public ceremony of his nuptials was again repeated on the following day, and followed by all the exhibitions of ſplendor or gaiety, ſuitable to the occaſion [36].

1600.

3d December.

9th December. Henry celebrates his marriage with her.

Negotiation for peace, renewed.

The negotiation for a peace, which the king had declined at Chamberry, was revived with more efficacy at Lyons, by the intervention of the legate, Aldobrandini, in conjunction with the embaſſadors of Savoy. As the French miniſters demanded a conſiderable ſum, by way of compenſation for the expences of the war; the province of Bugey, together with the diſtrict of Valromey, were offered by Charles Emanuel; who, in exchange for ſome dependencies of Provence, contiguous to the marquiſate of Saluzzo, added likewiſe the territory, or bailiwick of Gex, in the vicinity of the lake of Geneva. In conſideration of theſe important ceſſions, together with the original ſtipulation of Breſſe, Henry conſented to reſtore all his conqueſts, without diſmantling any of the fortreſſes; and to abandon to the duke Saluzzo, the primary cauſe of the rupture. But, at the moment when all the preliminaries were adjuſted, a new obſtacle aroſe to retard their accompliſhment. At the ſolicitation of the in-

Terms, offered.

[36] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 270—272. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 552—561. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 202, 203. Sully, vol. i. p. 457. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 479–481. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 666–679. Chron. Sept. p. 181—191.

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habitants of Geneva, a private commiſſion had been iſſued, to deſtroy the fortifications of fort St. Catherine; and as the execution was entruſted to Roſny, a Hugonot, he loſt not an inſtant in demoliſhing ſo obnoxious a citadel. Mines having been ſprung for the purpoſe, it was completely reduced to a heap of ruins; and even the materials compoſing it, were carried off by the Geneveſe, anxious to leave no veſtige of its exiſtence. When the intelligence was conveyed to the legate, he expreſſed the utmoſt indignation at an act, which he not only affected to conſider as an infraction of the principles of the treaty, but as an indirect inſult to the holy ſee itſelf; Geneva, the center and aſylum of hereſy, being by the demolition of fort St. Catherine, emancipated from its greateſt object of apprehenſion. The conferences were, nevertheleſs, reſumed after ſome days, at the entreaty of the Savoyard miniſters; who, terrified leſt the citadel of Bourg ſhould be compelled by famine to capitulate, beſought of the legate to terminate the buſineſs. He complied; when, to his aſtoniſhment and concern, the duke's embaſſadors produced an order, prohibiting them from ſigning, without further directions. Vanquiſhed, at length, by his entreaties, menaces, and aſſurances of reſponſibility, they, however, affixed their ſignatures, on the expreſs condition, that the term of a month ſhould be allowed to their ſovereign, in which to ſend his ratification [37].

1600. Fort St. Catherine, demoliſhed.

1601. January. Conferences, reſumed.

17th January. Concluſion of peace.

Duke of Savoy refuſes to ratify the treaty.

Henry, conceiving the war ended by this agreement, quitted Lyons immediately; leaving the queen to follow him to the capital, by ſlower journies: but Charles Emanuel, and the count de Fuentes were far from acquieſcing in a treaty, which they regarded as diſhonorable and ruinous. The duke had not yet renounced his hopes of aſſiſtance from Biron; nor was it improbable that Philip the Third might be induced to enter into and eſpouſe his quarrel. Bouvens

[37] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 779—782. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 561—568. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 1—31. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 481—486. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 203—207. Sully, vol. i. p. 458—460. Chron. Sept. p. 204—211.

ſtill

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ſtill held out in the citadel of Bourg; and Fuentes acted in concert with the court of Turin. All theſe expectations were ſpeedily extinguiſhed by the duke of Lerma. That miniſter, deſirous of peace, and ſeeing the ſecurity of the Milaneſe amply guaranteed by the excluſion of the French from Italy; was little affected by the loſſes, or ſenſible to the misfortunes, of his maſter's ally. Biron was unable to carry into execution, his criminal purpoſes. The legate loudly demanded the accompliſhment of a negotiation, in which his own honor, and the dignity of the holy ſee, were deeply intereſted. The citadel of Bourg, reduced to extremities, was on the point of ſurrendering; and Fuentes could extend no protection. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the duke, after exhauſting every ſubterfuge, and protracting to the laſt moment, reluctantly ratified the treaty. The articles were executed on both ſides, with fidelity [38].

1601. February.

Cauſes, which compelled him to acquieſce in it.

9th March.

If we conſider its effects in a political point of view, we muſt admit, that they were equally glorious and beneficial to France. Henry not only augmented the luſtre of his arms, and the ſplendor of his reputation; but, he acquired a vaſt and valuable encreaſe of territory. The two provinces of Breſſe and Bugey, extending near thirty leagues, covered and protected the city of Lyons, which antecedently was liable to perpetual inſult or attack, from the vicinity of Bourg. Dauphiné and Burgundy derived ſimilar advantages from the acquiſition. The king became maſter of the Rhone, from its paſſage out of the lake of Geneva, to its confluence with the Saone: he facilitated his communication with Germany and Switzerland; ſtraitened the county of Burgundy, poſſeſſed by Spain; and rendered himſelf in effect, as well as in name, the protector of the republic of Geneva. So important an acceſſion of dominion had not been made, ſince the ſeizure of Metz, Toul, and Verdun,

Effects of the treaty.

Beneficial to France.

[38] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 782—784. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 568—572. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 207—210. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 31—39. Chron. Sept. p. 211, 212.

by

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by Henry the Second; and it has remained, during near two centuries which have ſince elapſed, irrevocably annexed to France. Henry reſigned, it is true, the only entrance left him, whereby to penetrate into Italy; but, when we reflect on the unhappy termination of the numerous attempts made to ſubject the Milaneſe and Naples, that renunciation may be eſteemed wiſe and ſalutary. On the other hand, Charles Emanuel, though vanquiſhed, betrayed, and abandoned, yet retained the original ſubject of the war. Nor, muſt we eſtimate the marquiſate of Saluzzo, by its magnitude, or its revenue. Its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Turin, the acceſs which it opened to Piemont, and the facility lent by it to invade Italy; compenſated, if they did not overpay, the ceſſion of a much more extenſive tract of country. Some degree of honor was ſuppoſed to accrue even from a conteſt however unfortunate, with a power ſo much ſuperior: and Leſdiguieres ſarcaſtically aſſerted, that "the king had negociated with the ſpirit of a merchant, and the "duke with that of a prince [39]."

Reflexions.

Commencement of a period of tranquillity.

From this period, to the cloſe of Henry's reign, during more than nine years, France preſents a ſcene almoſt uninterrupted, of ſerenity and proſperity. By a ſingular and rapid tranſition, a kingdom which had for near half a century, been harraſſed by domeſtic, or foreign commotions, paſſed to the extreme of repoſe. It may be juſtly queſtioned, whether the Roman world under Antoninus Pius, enjoyed a more auſpicious calm, or a more unchequered felicity, than the French people under Henry the Fourth. The tranſient clouds which aroſe, were almoſt inſtantly diſperſed by his wiſdom, or diſſipated by his vigilance. All the remainder of his life was paſſed amidſt the diverſions of a magnificent court, in the cultivation of the arts, the improvement of the revenue, the purſuits of gallantry, and, however

[39] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 784, 785. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p 39—41. Chron. Sept. p. 212, 213.

incompatible, the practices of devotion. After the reception of the new queen at Paris, Henry accompanied her on a pious excursion to Orleans, where the indulgencies granted by the holy see in the year of Jubilee, were to be obtained. Advancing from thence to Calais, attended by a numerous train, his presence on that frontier diffused the utmost terror through the Netherlands. The arch-duke Albert, occupied in the long, and uncertain siege of Ostend; conscious that the court of Madrid had given the king some recent subjects of complaint; and apprehensive that he might extend assistance to the Dutch; dispatched a nobleman of his court, to compliment the French monarch. But, Henry's views and attention were directed towards England. Elizabeth, desirous of an interview with a prince whose exploits had justly rendered him an object of admiration to all Europe, repaired to Dover, with a view of facilitating the conference, desired. Motives of caution, or of policy, nevertheless, frustrated their mutual inclination; and induced the king to dispatch Rosny, his confidential minister, to discover the queen's secret intentions relative to their common enemies of the house of Austria. He fulfilled the commission, and carried back to his master the most positive assurances of her unalterable hostility to Spain, and of her desire to form a treaty with the crown of France, for the purpose of attacking Philip the Third in every quarter of his dominions [40].

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1601. March. Henry visits Calais.

He sends Rosny to Elizabeth.

Desirous of displaying his respect towards so illustrious and so faithful an ally, Henry sent over Biron, at the head of a splendid embassy, to the court of London. Elizabeth received him with all the testimonies of personal consideration, due to a man whose valor had made him deservedly dear to his sovereign, and who had rendered the most essential services to the state. The recent execution of the earl of Essex, who had enjoyed a distinguished place in the queen's

Embassy of Biron to England.

[40] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 11—15. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 573, and p. 610. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 214—218. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 92, 93.

affection,

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affection, and who had expiated his rebellion by an ignominious death; might, nevertheleſs, have inſtructed Biron in the fatal conſequences of his criminal connexion with the enemies of France, if he had been capable of profiting by example. But, his preſumptuous confidence in his own merit, and his implacable reſentment of the ſuppoſed indignities which he had received from the king, induced him to continue his treaſonable practices with the duke of Savoy and Fuentes. Neither the admonitions, the careſſes, nor the benefits of Henry, could alter his determination, nor avert his impending deſtruction [41].

Birth of the dauphin.

27th September.

The pregnancy of the queen of France had been long announced; and the king, in common with all his ſubjects, expected with the utmoſt impatience, the event. Mary of Medecis, after a long and painful labour, gratified the hopes of the nation, and gave birth to a ſon, who afterwards aſcended the throne by the name of Louis the Thirteenth. The French people, who, during more than forty years, ſince the death of Henry the Second, had not beheld a lineal ſucceſſor to the crown, exhibited the warmeſt proofs of loyalty and affection, on ſo joyful an occaſion. The king himſelf was overcome with the emotions of gratitude to Heaven, and of lively ſatisfaction, at ſight of a Dauphin. It confirmed the general felicity, ſtrengthened the government, ſuppreſſed the pretenſions of the princes of the blood, and extinguiſhed the expectations of the ſeditious or diſaffected [42].

Internal regulations,

Liberated from foreign enemies, Henry had leiſure to inſpect the ſtate of his dominions, to aſcertain its diſeaſes, and to apply the neceſſary remedies. Not leſs vigilant and active in time of peace, than he had been intrepid when menaced by external invaſion, his views

[41] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 93—105. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 611, 612. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 286—289.

[42] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 649, 650. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 284, 285. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 105—108. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 22.

embraced

embraced every object, calculated to promote, or to augment, the national proſperity. The number of perſons employed in the collection of the revenue, was diminiſhed; and ſome attempt was made to bring to juſtice thoſe, who during the paſt commotions, availing themſelves of the general diſtreſs, had amaſſed enormous wealth, by every ſpecies of rapine and peculation. A tribunal was inſtituted for enquiring into, and trying the offenders: but, ſuch was their power and intereſt, that they found means to elude the purſuit; and though the experiment was renewed, it was never attended with any beneficial conſequences. Sumptuary laws were enacted, and rigorouſly enforced; while meaſures were taken to prevent the exportation of gold and ſilver, in which articles a very pernicious traffic was carried on with the ſurrounding countries. The uſe and currency of foreign coin, which was circulated in payments and commercial tranſactions, at a higher value than that of France, was interdicted; and, notwithſtanding the immediate inconveniencies or loſſes occaſioned by the prohibition, they were compenſated by its eventual benefits. Uſury, which had, like other abuſes, grown up to a deſtructive height, was repreſſed; and the rate of legal intereſt was limited to ſix and one quarter per cent. [43]

of various kinds.

Theſe internal regulations did not diminiſh the king's attention to objects of more enlarged or diſtant policy, beyond the frontiers of France. It was of the higheſt importance, to renew the alliance with the Swiſs cantons, whoſe troops, by their intrepidity and fidelity, had on various occaſions, augmented the glory, and even preſerved the exiſtence of the monarchy. During the period of anarchy that ſucceeded the death of Henry the Third, the governors of the Milaneſe, availing themſelves of the bigotted adherence of the five ſmaller cantons to the Catholic religion, had induced them to contract ſtipendiary engagements with the court of Madrid. Even the

Foreign affairs.

[43] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 135—143. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 223—226. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 19—23.

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1601. State of the Swiſs cantons.

remaining members of the Helvetic union, no longer retained by the powerful operation of regular and conſtant ſubſidies, which the poverty of the crown rendered Henry unable to remit; had relaxed in their adherence to the French nation. It demanded talents, patience, and inſinuation, ſupported by an ample remittance of money in diſcharge of arrears, to obliterate the impreſſion made by the agents of Philip the Third, and to recal the Switzers to their antient connexions with France. They betrayed much irreſolution in their diets, and long declined, or refuſed, to accede to a new treaty. But, the addreſs of Henry's miniſters, at length ſurmounted every impediment; and the arrival of Biron at Soleurre, completed the work. His high reputation and acknowledged valor; the attachment felt for the memory of his father, marſhal Biron, who had always expreſſed a peculiar affection for the Switzers; added to the perſonal merit and exertions of his ſon, cemented the alliance. It was renewed, not only for the king's own life, but, likewiſe, for that of the Dauphin. We muſt confeſs, that, if it was the laſt, it was not among the leaſt of the numerous ſervices, rendered by Biron to the crown [44].

1602. January. Alliance renewed with them.

Commotions in the provinces.

Notwithſtanding the apparent tranquillity of the kingdom, Henry received continually the moſt alarming intimations of ſeditious deſigns or machinations. The interior provinces along the Loire, as well as thoſe on the Garonne, manifeſted ſymptoms approaching to revolt. Limoges, and Rochelle, irritated at the continuance of ſome ſevere and unpopular taxes, which had been impoſed during the war againſt Spain; reſiſted by force the officers appointed to levy them in the king's name. It was apprehended, not without reaſon, that the concealed agents of Philip the Third and the duke of Savoy, fomented theſe diſcontents, which menaced a civil war. Biron, though the moſt illuſtrious and deſperate, was, by no means,

[44] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 166—185. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 229—231. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 106—108.

the

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the only conſpirator. The Hugonots, diſcontented, alienated from Henry ſince his abjuration, and inflamed by violent, or artful men, ſought for foreign protection; and meditated to erect a ſpecies of commonwealth in France, of which the queen of England, or ſome of the princes of Germany, might be conſtituted the chief. Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, whom the king's partiality and friendſhip had raiſed from the rank of viſcount Turenne, to the ſovereignty of the duchy of Bouillon, repaid his benefactor with the ſame ingratitude as Biron. Not inferior to that nobleman in courage, he was far ſuperior to him in capacity, caution, and ſolidity of judgment. Attached to the reformed religion, he poſſeſſed great influence in the counſels and deliberations of the Proteſtants. He was ſupported by the duke de la Tremouille, another of the Hugonot leaders. The court itſelf abounded with malcontents. Epernon, reduced to a comparative ſtate of inſignificance, was ſecretly diſpoſed to aid an inſurrection, though he was too wiſe to ſacrifice his dignities, poſſeſſions, and life, by entering into any poſitive engagements with ſo disjointed a party. Charles of Valois, count of Auvergne, natural ſon of Charles the Ninth by Mary Touchet, and uterine brother to the marchioneſs of Verneuil, was one of the accomplices. His ferocity, duplicity, and perfidy, rendered him more dangerous to his friends, than to his enemies; and his love of life prompted him, on all occaſions, to betray the projects, in which he had precipitately engaged [45].

1602. Diſcontent of the Hugonots, and of the duke of Bouillon. Epernon. Count of Auvergne.

Rouſed by the reiterated advices of an approaching, and imminent inſurrection, Henry inſtantly repaired to the ſcene of danger. After viſiting Blois and Tours, he advanced to Poitiers, while he diſpatched Roſny to Rochelle. His preſence, vigilance, and exertions, ſpeedily diſſipated the ſtorm, and reſtored ſubmiſſion: but, the apprehenſion of new and ſimilar evils ariſing in other quarters of his dominions, determined him no longer to delay recurring to the ſtrongeſt remedies, in order to eradicate ſo inveterate a diſtemper. Conſcious that lenity

May. June. Henry repairs to Poitiers.

[45] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 44, 45. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 237, 238. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 61, 62.

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and clemency were unequal to reclaiming minds, accuſtomed to conſider treaſon as ſcarcely a crime; and aware, that only ſome ſignal example of ſeverity could impoſe a reſtraint on a turbulent and factious nobility, habituated to the licentiouſneſs of civil war; he reſolved to begin with Biron. The treachery of La Fin, a Burgundian gentleman, who had carried on his negotiations at Turin, and at Milan, had already put the king in poſſeſſion of all the evidence requiſite to prove his guilt in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. This man, ruined in his fortune, deſtitute of virtue or principle, and offended that Biron no longer treated him with the ſame confidence as formerly, had retired to his own eſtate. Terrified at the idea of being ſeized and puniſhed, he was eaſily induced by an aſſurance of pardon and protection, to repair to court; where, in ſeveral private interviews with Henry and his miniſters, he revealed every circumſtance reſpecting the conſpiracy. Even the papers and documents written by Biron, which that infatuated and miſguided nobleman conceived that La Fin had deſtroyed by his orders, were preſented to the king. He was confirmed in his ſecurity on ſo material a point, by the proteſtations of his faithleſs agent, who acquainted him, that in the various conferences and examinations which he underwent, no circumſtances tending to criminate Biron had tranſpired. Deluded by theſe falſe declarations; confiding in the honor of La Fin; preſſed by Henry to repair to court, upon matters of public concern; and incapable of reſiſting by force, if, as it was natural to expect, the king, irritated at his delay, ſhould march into Burgundy; Biron, at length, reluctantly quitted Dijon, and arrived at Fontainbleau [46].

La Fin reveals the practices of Biron.

Biron arrives at court.

13th June. His reception.

Henry received him with teſtimonies of regard, notwithſtanding his cold and arrogant deportment; and in repeated converſations, he beſought of Biron to confeſs his treaſonable practices, and aſſured him of pardon and oblivion, if he would merit it by a candid diſclo-

[46] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 256—264. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 65, 66. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 231, 232, and p. 235—239. Baſſompierre, vol. i. tom. i. p. 57. Chron. Sept. p. 285—289.

ſure

ſure of his fault. But, ſuch was his credulous reliance on La Fin, and ſo intoxicated was he with his own paſt exploits and ſervices to the crown, that he perſiſted inflexibly to deny the charges, or ſuſpicions entertained by the king. It was not till after a long, and ſevere conflict with himſelf, and after ineffectually exhauſting every means to ſoften or reclaim him; that Henry iſſued orders to arreſt a man, whoſe valor had been ſo inſtrumental to placing him on the throne. Biron, unprepared for ſuch a blow, was ſeized as he quitted the royal preſence, diſarmed, and ſoon afterwards transferred, with every requiſite precaution, to Paris, where Roſny, governor of the Baſtile, received him into his care. At the time that Vitry arreſted Biron, the count of Auvergne was in a ſimilar manner put into confinement, and conveyed to priſon [47].

He is arreſted.

15th June.

The trial of Biron took place almoſt immediately afterwards, before the ſupreme court of criminal judicature, the parliament of Paris. It was conducted with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and with all poſſible attention to the dignity of the priſoner. His guilt was eſtabliſhed by every ſpecies of evidence; the voluntary confeſſion of the perſon accuſed; the depoſitions of La Fin and of Renazé, another accomplice; and laſtly, by the production of the culprit's letters written with his own hand. In extenuation, if not exculpation of theſe charges, Biron urged, that, however culpable his intentions, they had never paſſed the limits of his mind, and had not proceeded to actions. He pleaded the pardon which Henry had granted him at Lyons, ſoon after the termination of the war with Savoy; when, actuated by remorſe, he had confeſſed his criminal connexions with the enemies of the ſtate: and he denied his having renewed them ſubſequent to that event. The teſtimonies of La Fin and Renazé, he attempted to invalidate; and he oppoſed to

His trial.

Defence.

[47] Sully, vol. i. tom. ii. p. 48—50. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 262—282. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 66—68. Chron. Sept. p. 289—292.

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his fault, a life paſſed in the ſervice of the crown, his father's loyalty and merits, his own body covered with honorable ſcars and wounds. With loud and violent imprecations, he repelled the accuſation of having ever meditated any deſign againſt the king's life; and he threw himſelf on the clemency of a prince, who was not only diſtinguiſhed by that virtue; but, who, in the courſe of his reign, had frequently extended his forgiveneſs to criminals of a far more heinous deſcription than himſelf. The tribunal unanimouſly adjudged him to loſe his head on a ſcaffold, in the "Place de Greve," declared his peerage attainted, and his poſſeſſions confiſcated to the crown [48].

Condemnation.

Severity of the king.

A ſentence, which however juſt, was nevertheleſs ſo ſevere, might ſtill have been commuted, or alleviated by the king: but Henry, on this ſingle occaſion, ſeems to have been inſenſible to the emotions of compaſſion. He rejected every ſupplication made in Biron's behalf, confirmed the decree of the parliament, and only changed the ſcene of execution, to the court of the Baſtile. Even in this alteration, policy had a greater ſhare than lenity: the priſoner was adored by the ſoldiery whom he had ſo often conducted to victory; and the public ſpectacle of his death, in the midſt of a populous and tumultuous capital, might have been highly dangerous.

Behaviour of Biron.

In the interval between his condemnation and his puniſhment, and ſtill more at the time of his execution, he betrayed all the diſordered tranſports of a furious, vindictive, and irritated mind. He paſſed with rapid tranſitions, from penitence and ſorrow, to menaces, complaints, and every expreſſion of rage againſt his accuſers. Such was the violence of his deſpair, and the well-known intrepidity of his character, that he impreſſed with terror his judges, the ſpectators, and the executioner himſelf. It became neceſſary to ſooth, and to gratify him in ſome particulars, in order to diſpoſe and induce

[48] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. iv. p. 187—190. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 285—329. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 72—91. Chron. Sept. p. 292—307.

him

him to ſubmit quietly to the ſentence of the law. Even at the inſtant when his head was about to be ſevered from his body, he loſt neither his preſence of mind, nor any portion of his natural ferocity. He threatened to ſtrangle the executioner with his own hands, if he preſumed to approach, or to touch him while he was yet alive; and the blow which terminated his exiſtence, was anticipated by the dexterity of the miniſter of juſtice [49].

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1602. 31ſt July. His execution.

The people, and even many perſons of inconteſtable loyalty among the higher orders, manifeſted their regret at the unhappy concluſion of a life, which, however forfeited, had, nevertheleſs, been diſtinguiſhed by the moſt brilliant ſervices. They lamented, that the firſt ſovereign in Europe, poſſeſſed of the affection of his ſubjects, victorious over foreign enemies, and in the midſt of profound peace, ſhould deem his life and crown inſecure, unleſs cemented by the blood of Biron. They thought that a leſs rigorous puniſhment might have been equally effectual; and that he might, without hazard, have either received a pardon, or expiated his offences by impriſonment. If it is difficult to blame the ſeverity of the king, it is equally impoſſible not to admit, that he would have appeared more amiable and more exalted, in pardoning, than in condemning his unfortunate and culpable ſubject. But, Biron had rendered himſelf perſonally odious to his ſovereign. The crimes of Bouillon, Epernon, and Mayenne, were political, and admitted of forgiveneſs. The arrogance of Biron had wounded, and his obdurate pertinacity had irritated, an indulgent maſter. Henry dreaded the vengeance of a haughty and implacable ſpirit: he knew the extent of Biron's treaſonable practices with Spain and Savoy, as well as his ambition to aſcend above the condition of a ſubject: he looked forward, with

Reflexions on the crime, and puniſhment of Biron.

[49] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 192—169. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 248—250. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 329—359. De Thou, vol. xiv, p. 91—94. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 492—496. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 50, 51. Chron. Septenn. p. 308—315.

natural

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natural and wise solicitude, to the possible event of his own death, and the disorders incident to a minority. When these considerations of a public nature, were added to his private causes of resentment, he no longer hesitated to sacrifice one guilty individual, to the safety of his family, and the tranquillity of France [50].

[50] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 93, 94. Journ. d'Hen. IV., p. 199—201. Chron. Sept. p. 317—322.

CHAP. VII.

Submiſſion of France, to Henry.—Duke of Bouillon quits the kingdom.—Attempt of the duke of Savoy, on Geneva.—Death of Elizabeth.—Embaſſy of Roſny, to James the Firſt.—Treaty between France and England.—Domeſtic events, and quarrels.—Internal fermentation, and intrigues.—Policy, and conduct of the court of Madrid.—Conſpiracy of the marchioneſs of Verneuil.—Arreſt of the principal conſpirators.—Surrender of Oſtend.—Affairs of Germany.—Trial of the count of Auvergne, and his accomplices.—Henry pardons them.—Foreign tranſactions.—Journey of the king, to Limoges.—Conſpiracy of Merargues.—Preparations of Henry, for war.—State of the cabinet.—March of the king to Sedan.—Submiſſion, and pardon of Bouillon.—Tranquillity of France.

CHAP. VII.

1602. Auguſt.

THE example of ſeverity exhibited by the king, in the ſeizure and execution of Biron, was productive of the moſt ſalutary and beneficial effects, during the remainder of his reign. It inſtructed the French nobility, who had long been accuſtomed to regard connexions with foreign princes, as neither criminal nor dangerous; that no rank nor ſervices, however eminent, could protect them from the puniſhment due to treaſon. Even beyond the limits of France, the death of ſo illuſtrious a culprit, inſpired caution, if not terror; and impoſed a reſtraint on the machinations of the courts of Turin and Madrid. The embaſſadors of Philip, and of Charles Emanuel, joined in the general congratulations to Henry, on the diſcovery of ſo alarming a conſpiracy; and were eager to diſown, in the names of their reſpective princes, all participation in the guilt of Biron. Fontenelles, a gentleman of Brittany, convicted of a deſign

Effect of the late ſeverity.

Execution of Fontenelles.

CHAP. VII.

1602. 27th Sept.

ſign to deliver up to the Spaniards a port and iſland belonging to that province, in the vicinity of Breſt, was put to death at Paris, with every circumſtance of ignominy. Towards all the other individuals involved in the late projects, Henry extended his accuſtomed clemency. The baron de Lux, who had ſucceeded to La Fin in the confidence of Biron, and who alone poſſeſſed the ſecret of his laſt negotiations with the duke of Savoy and Fuentes, experienced in its full extent, the generoſity of the king. Having, on the aſſurances of ſafety given him, repaired to court, and made an ingenuous diſcloſure of every circumſtance, he received not only a pardon, but, a confirmation in his poſt of lieutenant-governor of Burgundy. The count of Auvergne, equally criminal, but, more fortunate than Biron, was liberated from the Baſtile, after a ſhort confinement, and reinſtated in his preceding favor. He owed ſo ſignal a diſplay of lenity, not leſs to the tears of his ſiſter, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, than to his paternal deſcent from the houſe of Valois. The prince of Joinville, brother to the duke of Guiſe, convicted of having carried on ſome treaſonable, or dangerous intelligence with the emiſſaries of Spain, was treated with ſimilar indulgence. Lavardin, diſpatched by Henry, took poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Dijon and of Beaune, without reſiſtance; and tranquillity appeared to revive in every part of the kingdom [1].

Henry pardons Auvergne. 2d October.

Submiſſion of Burgundy.

Conduct of Bouillon.

The duke of Bouillon alone, more terrified at the fate of Biron, than encouraged by any inſtances of mercy ſhewn towards others, refuſed to truſt himſelf to the honor, or to throw himſelf on the friendſhip and affection of the king. Neither entreaties, expoſtulations, nor menaces, could alter his reſolution. He retired into the province of the Limouſin, and offered to ſubmit his cauſe to the judgment of the tribunal of Caſtres, which was compoſed of Catholics and Proteſtants in equal numbers: but, that court declining to

[1] Chron. Sept. p. 324. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 361—373. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 94—96, and p. 105. Sully, vol. i. tom. ii. p. 53, and p. 73—76. Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 202, 203, and p. 204, 205.

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interfere in an affair to which its juriſdiction was incompetent, Bouillon, apprehenſive of being arreſted, quitted France, and took refuge at Geneva. He even ventured to publiſh an apology, or more properly, a manifeſto, juſtificatory of his innocence, and conceived in terms little calculated to mollify the reſentment of Henry. It was powerfully ſuſtained by the interceſſion of the Hugonots, among whom the duke occupied a diſtinguiſhed place; and even by the applications of foreign princes in his favour. Elizabeth, either convinced of his innocence, or deſirous, in his perſon, to diſplay her attachment to the party to which he belonged, addreſſed a letter to the king, in his behalf. The example of the queen of England, was imitated by the elector palatine: but, Henry remained inflexible, and exacted the perſonal ſubmiſſion of Bouillon, previous to every act of grace, or of oblivion on the part of the crown [a].

1602. November. He quits the kingdom.

Interceſſion, in his favour.

The gloom, which had been ſpread over the capital by the late executions, was diſſipated by the arrival of the embaſſadors deputed by the thirteen cantons, to ſwear in the name of the Helvetic union, to the obſervance of the treaties recently concluded. The king, on an occaſion ſo ſolemn and ſo happy, diſplayed at once, the utmoſt cordiality and magnificence, in his treatment of the deputies. They were regaled by the miniſters, the princes of the blood, and the magiſtrates, during their ſtay at Paris, and diſmiſſed with marks of bounty. In the accompliſhment of an alliance which attached Switzerland to France by the cloſeſt bonds of political union, the aſcendancy and wiſdom of Henry's counſels were not leſs manifeſted, than the vigour of his arms had been exerted, during the ſhort conteſt with Savoy. The feeble efforts, or timid acquieſcence of the court of Madrid, while ſo formidable a rival was annually acquiring force, amaſſing treaſures, and extending his influence over Europe;

14th Oct. Swiſs embaſſadors arrive at Paris.

Able policy of Henry.

[a] Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 221—265. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 96—105, and p. 138—140. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 253, 254. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 371. Sully, vol. i. p. 51. Chron. Sept. p. 324—326.

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accuſed the indolence, or incapacity of the duke of Lerma. It was already apparent that the Spaniſh monarchy, badly adminiſtered, impoveriſhed, and exhauſted, could no longer make thoſe efforts, or equip thoſe fleets, which, under under Philip the Second, had juſtly alarmed every ſurrounding ſtate. Nor could the Catholic king derive any aſſiſtance from the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria, which, in the perſon of Rodolph the Second, had inſenſibly loſt all conſideration, or reſpect. Albert and Iſabella, occupied in the long and uncertain ſiege of Oſtend, incapable of paying the numerous troops requiſite to maintain hoſtilities againſt the Dutch, and oppoſed by the moſt active general of his age, Maurice, prince of Orange; were unable to make any exertions beyond the limits of the Netherlands. The adherence of Charles Emanuel to Spain, was precarious; and it would always be in Henry's power to regain his friendſhip, by tempting his ambition. The balance of power, which had ſo long inclined to the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, began, though inſenſibly, to preponderate in favor of France. It only required a few years of internal tranquillity, frugality, and attention to the revenues, to render that kingdom the arbitreſs of Europe.

State of Spain,

of Flanders,

and of Savoy.

Attack of Geneva.

Deſirous by a ſtroke of vigor and policy, to repair the breaches made in his dominions during the late unfortunate war, the duke of Savoy meditated an attack upon Geneva. The project was conceived with ſo much ability, concealed with ſuch care, and finally executed with ſuch ſucceſs till the very moment of its entire completion, that the reduction of the city to his obedience appeared to be infallible. It was, nevertheleſs, fruſtrated by a train of accidents, equally ſingular, and impoſſible to have been averted by any exertion of prudence, or valor. The aſſailants, provided with every weapon or inſtrument that could facilitate the attempt, conducted by officers of capacity, and ſheltered under cover of the night, approached the walls. They placed the ladders, aſcended them, put to death the ſentinel without noiſe, and during near two hours were maſters of the

12d Dec.

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the place. But, the alarm being at length given, the inhabitants flew to arms. The Savoyards, overpowered by numbers, prevented from admitting their companions who waited without the gates, and confuſed by the darkneſs; were obliged to precipitate themſelves from the battlements. Thirteen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and intrepid, capitulated, ſword in hand, on promiſe of life and ſafety: but, the fury of the populace, juſtly irritated, compelled the magiſtrates to deliver them up as victims, and they were ſtrangled on the enſuing day. Charles Emanuel, who, in full confidence of being ſpeedily maſter of Geneva, had advanced to a village only a league diſtant from it, returned to Turin, covered with confuſion. In his letters to the Swiſs cantons, he attempted to colour the proceeding, under various pretences. It is, nevertheleſs, difficult to juſtify, or even to palliate an enterprize, undertaken in time of profound peace, againſt a republic, inconteſtably, though not ſpecifically, included among the allies of France, and guaranteed by the two recent treaties, at Lyons and at Vervins. The powerful interpoſition of Henry, who menaced the duke of Savoy with a renewal of hoſtilities, if he repeated the attack on Geneva; and the mediation of the Helvetic body, deeply intereſted in its preſervation; produced a definitive agreement between them, in the enſuing year. That little republic ſtill ſubſiſts by the ſame protection: nor in the lapſe of near two centuries, has any deſcendant of Charles Emanuel, though the princes of his family have been eminent for ambition and capacity, ever ventured to attempt the reduction of Geneva by force [3].

1602. Its ill ſucceſs.

Savoyards, put to death.

Interpoſition of Henry.

Hiſtory, which, during the firſt nine years of the reign of Henry the Fourth, from his acceſſion, to the peace of Vervins, can ſcarcely keep pace with the number of events which preſent themſelves; finds an equal ſterility in the concluding period, between the execution of Biron, and the king's aſſaſſination by Ravaillac. The

1603.

[3] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 421—443. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 56. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 124—129. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 787—789. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 259—264. Chron. Sept. p. 364—368.

operations

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1603. Vigilance of the king.

operations of war, rapid, deciſive, and pictureſque, excite a more lively intereſt, and awaken a more animated attention, than regulations of policy, or eſtabliſhments of domeſtic utility. But, the activity of Henry, which had been called out by the dangers of the field, did not ſlumber in the ſecurity of peace. Attentive to avail himſelf of every occaſion which offered, to emancipate the crown from its dependance on the nobility, he repaired to Metz, accompanied by the queen and court. The government of that important city and citadel, which covered the eaſtern frontier towards Lorrain and Germany, had been conferred by the late king, on his favourite, Epernon, who placed in them one of his own devoted adherents. This man, profiting of various accidents, had not only in a great meaſure, thrown off all ſubmiſſion to his benefactor; but, he proceeded to exerciſe a violent and indefinite authority over the liberty, and even the lives of the inhabitants. Epernon having vainly endeavoured to accommodate the difference, or to render himſelf maſter of the citadel, was compelled to be a paſſive ſpectator of its ſurrender to the king. He preſerved only the nominal government of Metz; the efficient command being given to Montigny, one of the moſt zealous of the royal followers, on whoſe fidelity and allegiance Henry knew that he might ſecurely confide[a].

March.

He acquires the poſſeſſion of Metz.

14th March. Death of Elizabeth.

His return to the capital was accelerated by the unpleaſing intelligence of the deceaſe of Elizabeth, queen of England. That illuſtrious princeſs, during a reign of more than four and forty years, had excited the admiration of all Europe. To Henry, at every period, whether proſperous, or adverſe, ſhe had extended her protection, and lent her aſſiſtance. In the two arduous ſieges of Rouen, and of Amiens, her forces had ſerved with diſtinguiſhed valor; and even after the abjuration of the king of France, Elizabeth, though ſhe upbraided and condemned, did not deſert her ally. The magna-

[a] Chron. Septen. p. 382, 383. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 84—86. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 130, 131. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 470—474. Hiſt. d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 256—265.

nimity,

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nimity, policy, and enlargement of mind, common to them both, cemented their friendſhip. In their irreconcilable enmity to the houſe of Auſtria, they united; and it was difficult to determine which of the two princes had received the deepeſt wounds from the hand of Philip the Second. Elizabeth diſdained to be included in that treaty, which, only five years before, had terminated the long war between the crowns of France and Spain. She continued to deſolate the Spaniſh monarchy in every quarter of the globe, and to aid the Dutch with her troops and treaſures. Henry, by the medium of Roſny, as well as of Biron, whom he ſent ſucceſſively to the court of England, had recently received the moſt unequivocal proofs of her affection; and they only waited for a convenient occaſion of attacking Philip the Third, with their united ſtrength [5].

Policy of that princeſs.

Her union with Henry.

The regret which he felt for the loſs of ſo valuable an ally, was encreaſed by his uncertainty relative to the character, intentions, and conduct of her ſucceſſor. A vaſt and important revolution in the ſyſtem of Europe was about to take place, by the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland. James the Firſt might neither inherit the talents, nor embrace the views of his predeceſſor. Confined to a remote corner of the North, his capacity and diſpoſition were very imperfectly known beyond the limits of his native dominions. But, many circumſtances led to apprehend, that he might purſue a leſs glorious, as well as a leſs judicious ſyſtem of policy, than that of Elizabeth. He had hitherto diſplayed neither aptitude, nor ability for war; and far from being diſpoſed to aid the united provinces, he had betrayed a contrary inclination on various occaſions. The court of Madrid already anticipated with joy his acceſſion, as the ſignal of peace between the two crowns; and it was well known that Cecil, who preſided ſince his father's death, in the coun-

Acceſſion of James the Firſt.

Expectations formed of him.

[5] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 86. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 488—508. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 142—148.

ſels

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ſels of England, was not averſe to ſuch a meaſure, for a variety of reaſons [6].

1603. Embaſſy of Roſny.

Impelled by conſiderations of ſuch magnitude and importance, Henry determined to ſend an embaſſador without delay, to ſound the intentions of the new king. He ſelected for a charge, at once ſo delicate and ſo arduous, the ſame miniſter whom he had formerly employed on a ſimilar errand to the deceaſed queen. Roſny, ſuperintendant of the finances, was a ſervant, on whoſe capacity, zeal, and fidelity, he could not only rely; but, whoſe perſon and miſſion, he well knew, would be rendered acceptable to James, from their common adherence to the Proteſtant religion. His inſtructions, framed with conſummate ſkill, embraced every propoſition, which could tend to cement the alliance between France and England; to humble the houſe of Auſtria; and to reduce the dominions of Philip the Third to narrower limits. The embaſſador was empowered to enlarge, or to contract them, as he ſhould find it expedient, or judicious. Roſny, accompanied by a ſplendid train, arrived in London, and was received by James with demonſtrations not only of regard, but, of the warmeſt attachment. In the courſe of little more than a fortnight, that able ſtateſman moved every ſpring, and availed himſelf of every means, by which the object of his negotiation could be facilitated, or accelerated. He awakened the ſenſibility, and pointed the attention of the king, to the inordinate ambition, and diſproportionate greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarch. He ſhewed the eaſe with which, by a union of their forces and counſels, ſupported by the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and the Proteſtant princes of the empire; Henry and James might diſſever Milan, Naples, and the other detached provinces of Spain, from the obedience of Philip. To his arguments, he added every flattering eulogium, and every generous incentive, calculated to propel the deliberations of the

Objects of his miſſion.

13th June.

His reception,

and negotiation.

[6] Hume, Hiſt. of England, vol. vi. p. 7. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 274.

Scottiſh

Scottiſh prince. But, he was not long in perceiving, that the love of peace, however inſecure or inglorious, was James's predominant paſſion; that puſillanimity, inconſtancy, and levity, characteriſed his meaſures; and that no co-operation of energy or duration was to be expected from ſuch a government. He wiſely, therefore, limited his exertions to the attainment of more practicable objects; a defenſive alliance between the two kingdoms, the ſupport of the United Provinces, and a treaty for the mutual protection of France and England, if attacked by Spain. To theſe propoſitions, James lent a favorable ear, and gave his immediate aſſent. Roſny was diſmiſſed with teſtimonies of perſonal eſteem; and received by Henry on his return, with the gratitude juſtly due to his diſtinguiſhed ſervices[*]. It was, nevertheleſs, apparent, by the peace ſhortly afterwards concluded between the new king of Great Britain and Philip the Third, that James had determined to adopt a policy widely different from that of the preceding reign.

1603.

Succeſs of it.

While Henry directed his attention to conciliate the friendſhip of England, he was not inattentive to every meaſure which could confirm the tranquillity, or augment the proſperity of his ſubjects. Manufactures, whether of neceſſity, or of taſte and refinement, received a liberal encouragement. The fabrication of ſilk, which Francis the Firſt had attempted to introduce among the French; but, which, in common with many other uſeful inventions, had diſappeared during the civil wars, was revived. Silk-worms were brought from Italy and Sicily, into the ſouthern provinces of France; and the cultivation of mulberry-trees, ſo requiſite for the nouriſhment of thoſe inſects, was enjoined. With a view to give additional energy to the induſtry of his people, the ſumptuary laws, regulating, and reſtraining articles of dreſs, were annulled. In the adoption of principles ſo

Internal regulations.

Eſtabliſhment of manufactures of ſilk.

[*] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 89—165. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 151—153. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 535—548. Hume, vol. vi. p. 6—8. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 274—277. Chron. Sept. p. 410—412.

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Enlargement of the king's views.

enlarged, the king ventured to oppoſe the advice of Roſny, his miniſter, who remonſtrated with warmth againſt eſtabliſhments calculated to enervate the French, and to deſtroy their martial originality of character. But, Henry, either more ſagacious, or more enterprizing, remained inflexible; and experience juſtified the expanſion of his views, by the profits derived from the various branches of manufacture, which he introduced into his dominions[8].

Domeſtic troubles of Henry.

The profound repoſe, enjoyed by France at this period, neither diminiſhed the king's vigilance and circumſpection, nor exempted him, in his private capacity, from a variety of troubles. He had not found in his marriage with Mary of Medecis, all the domeſtic comforts and alleviations, of which that union is capable, when cemented by mutual eſteem and confidence. If the ſource of theſe miſunderſtandings was in part to be attributed to the queen, a greater portion of them might without injuſtice be laid to the account of Henry. The obſtinacy, coldneſs, jealouſy, and violence, which characterized the Tuſcan princeſs, derived their origin from the inconſtancy and infi-

His amours.

delity of her huſband. Far from reforming his conduct as he advanced in years, his amours became more numerous. He ſought in the animated converſation, wit, and gaiety of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, to diſſipate the dullneſs, or to obliterate the vexation, which he found at home. That inſolent and artful female, did not ſcruple to level the ſevereſt ſhafts of ſatire or of malevolent ridicule, againſt the queen herſelf. Neither the extraction, the perſonal defects, nor the intellectual weakneſſes of Mary, were ſpared on theſe occaſions.

Marchioneſs of Verneuil.

All the expreſſions of the marchioneſs were reported with exaggeration to her rival, by the ſpies, or emiſſaries whom ſhe retained.

Conchini, and Leonora Galigai.

Two Florentines, Conchino Conchini, and Leonora Galigai, who became unhappily, in the ſequel, too famous in the hiſtory of France, divided the affections of that princeſs. They embittered the cauſes

[8] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 180, 181. vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 455—457. Chron. Sept. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 277—281. Matthieu, p. 409, 410.

of

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of her uneaſineſs, alienated her from the king, and inſpired her with projects of vengeance againſt the perſon who moleſted her repoſe. Henry, weak, irreſolute, and almoſt timid in his family, neither puniſhed, nor removed from the queen's preſence, the authors of their mutual diſcord. They even continued to augment in their influence, as well as in their power and arrogance, during the remainder of his reign. The Louvre became a ſcene of perpetual ſtrife, and of indecent altercation; the publicity of which, diminiſhed the reſpect and veneration felt for a prince, ſo illuſtrious in his public capacity. Scarcely could the interpoſition, or mediation of the miniſters, eſtabliſh, from time to time, a frail reconciliation, perpetually ſucceeded by new, and more inveterate diſputes [9].

Malcontents.

Nor did Henry experience in his family alone, the diſquietudes annexed to the condition of man; and to which kings are more expoſed, in proportion to their elevation. The court and kingdom, teemed with malcontents of every deſcription. He was compelled to tolerate the inſolence of the count of Soiſſons, and even to interpoſe his authority, in order to ſuſpend, or avert the effects of that prince's enmity to Roſny, which revived on the ſlighteſt, and moſt groundleſs pretences [10]. With Epernon he was involved in perpetual quarrels, reſpecting the patronage and prerogatives annexed to his office of colonel-general of the French infantry: a poſt, which the improvident folly of Henry the Third had rendered almoſt independant of the crown. That haughty favourite appeared, on various occaſions, to be diſpoſed to take up arms; and he even ventured to retire, with intentions the moſt hoſtile, to his government of Angouleme: his apprehenſions, nevertheleſs, reſtrained him from proceeding to extremities, and induced him to repair his fault by a voluntary ſubmiſſion [11]. The Hugonots demanded the unceaſing vigilance of

Count of Soiſſons.

Epernon.

The Hugonot leaders.

[9] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 43, 44. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 282, and p. 298—300. Amours d'Henry IV., p. 71—76.

[10] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 177—179.

[11] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 283, 284.

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government, to watch their motions, and to anticipate, or fruſtrate their deſigns. Bouillon, though in a ſpecies of exile, was ſtill formidable; and La Tremouille excited dangerous intrigues in Poitou. Leſdiguieres, du Pleſſis Mornay, and the other Proteſtants chiefs, were either diſcontented, or deſtitute of attachment towards a prince, who had abandoned their party and perſuaſion. Propoſitions of a nature highly offenſive to the perſon and dignity of the reigning pope, Clement the Eighth, as well as to the pontifical character and office, had been agitated and adopted, in one of their ſynods, held at Gap, a town in Dauphiné. They had even arrogated in the aſſembly, a right which ſeemed to be incompatible with the ſubjection due to the crown, by admitting and giving audience, not only to delegates from the Proteſtant churches within the kingdom; but to embaſſadors, deputed by foreign powers [12]. With a view to counteract theſe machinations, and to balance the credit of La Tremouille in Poitou, a province of great extent, in which the Hugonots were numerous; the king conferred the government of it on Roſny. He already poſſeſſed many of the higheſt offices of ſtate, beſides the ſuperintendance of the finances; and Henry, who repoſed an unlimited confidence in his talents and fidelity, raiſed him ſoon afterwards to the ſummit of honors, by creating him duke of Sully [13].

October. Synods, held by the Proteſtants.

Roſny, made governor of Poitou.

December.

1604. Commercial rupture with Spain.

If the exhauſted condition of the Spaniſh monarchy, and the incapacity of its ſovereign, prevented an open rupture between the two crowns, it could not ſuſpend the ſecret effects of the animoſity of the court of Madrid. Continual occaſions of jealouſy and diſpute, commercial, or political, preſented themſelves. Henry continued to aid the United Provinces with ſupplies of men and money, notwithſtanding the peace concluded at Vervins. Philip having impoſed a duty of thirty per cent. on the importation of all articles of merchandize belonging to France, in which prohibition he was imitated by the

[12] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 595—604. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 157—160. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 284—288. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 183, 184.

[13] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 187—189.

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arch-duke Albert; the king, irritated at a meaſure ſo injurious to his ſubjects, interdicted by an edict, all communication whatſoever with Spain, or Flanders. He even perſiſted in it, notwithſtanding the complaints of his own people, and the indirect menaces of the duke of Lerma. Mutual neceſſity, and the diſtreſs, occaſioned by the ſuſpenſion of every ſpecies of commercial intercourſe, induced the two powers, at length, to ſubmit to the Papal arbitration. The prohibitions were taken off, and trade revived between their reſpective ſubjects [14]. Unable, ſince the diſcovery and puniſhment of Biron's conſpiracy, to induce any of the great nobility to renew a ſimilar correſpondence, the Spaniſh miniſter did not neglect the inferior inſtruments of treaſon. A young man, named L'Hoſte, who filled a confidential ſituation in the office of Villeroy, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs; corrupted by a conſiderable ſum, betrayed the moſt important ſecrets of the department, to Zuniga, the embaſſador of the Catholic king. Being at length diſcovered, he fled, and had already reached the banks of the Marne, near La Ferté, on his way to the frontiers of Lorrain, when he was overtaken; and in endeavouring to effect his paſſage, he periſhed in the river. His body, brought to Paris, was torn in pieces by wild horſes. Villeroy himſelf narrowly eſcaped diſgrace and diſmiſſion for the crime of his clerk, in whom he had confided with too implicit ſecurity: but, the difficulty of replacing him with a ſucceſſor of equal talents, ſoon obliterated the tranſaction, and reſtored him to favour [15].

Accommodation of it.

Affair of L'Hoſte.

24th April. His death.

Henry was ſenſibly affected by the death of his ſiſter, Catherine, ducheſs of Bar, which took place at this time, without iſſue. But, his emotions were ſoon transferred to another ſource of uneaſineſs, at once more painful and more alarming, which originated in his licen-

February. Conſpiracy of the marchioneſs of Verneuil.

[14] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 263—265. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vii. p. 659—661, and p. 772—775. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 218, and p. 223, 224. Chron. Sept. p. 452—455, and p. 498—500.

[15] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 318—320. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 210—217. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 294—297. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vii. p. 661—668. Chron. Sept. p. 465—476.

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tious amours. Henrietta d'Entragues, marchioneſs of Verneuil, though fruſtrated in her views of aſcending the throne, by the king's marriage with Mary of Medecis; yet, continued to carry on with him a commerce of gallantry, and to occupy a diſtinguiſhed place in his affections. She had even produced him a ſon, whom he had owned, and publickly legitimated [16]. Such was her audacity, that ſhe did not heſitate to aſſert on various occaſions, that his union with the queen was invalid, their iſſue incapable of wearing the crown, and her own title to the rank and prerogatives of his wife, indiſputable [17]. Neither menaces, nor offers, however advantageous, could prevail on her to reſtore the paper which Henry had given her, contrary to the advice of Roſny, as the price of her honor; and which ſhe preſerved with the moſt ſcrupulous care, and with a variety of precautions. Conſcious of the influence which her perſonal beauty, and the charms of her ſociety, had enabled her to obtain over the king, ſhe abuſed it by perpetual acts of inſolence, and of infidelity. Stimulating his paſſion by affected ſcruples, by coquetry, and refuſals, ſhe maintained her empire over him, in defiance of himſelf, of the remonſtrances of his miniſters, and of the ſuggeſtions of his own mind; nor was ſhe ever more ſecure of retaining him, than at the moment when their final ſeparation appeared to be imminent and inevitable [18].

Cauſes of it.

Entragues reſtores the engagement, given by Henry to his daughter.

Mary of Medecis, incenſed at her temerity, and alarmed at her pretenſions, inſiſted with importunity, that the promiſe of marriage which Henry had given her, ſhould be reſumed. The demand only ſerved to irritate, and to drive to extremities the marchioneſs. Her father, nevertheleſs, on receiving a ſum of money not far ſhort of nine thouſand pounds ſterling, and a promiſe of the dignity of

[16] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 129, 130. Amours d'Henry IV., p. 75, 76.

[17] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 321. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 204, 205.

[18] Cabinet d'Henry IV., par d'Anquetil, vol. i. p. 92—94, and p. 171, 172. Amours d'Henry IV., p. 72—76.

marſhal

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1604. 2d July.

marſhal of France, preſented a paper, which he declared to be the original. It was delivered to the king, in preſence of various princes of the blood, and officers of ſtate, who witneſſed its identity by an act drawn up for that purpoſe. The queen's apprehenſion, calmed by the reſtitution of an engagement, which might have been converted to purpoſes the moſt injurious to herſelf and her children, ſubſided; and a temporary tranquillity ſucceeded to the late violent agitation in the court [19]. But, Henry had ſpeedily reaſon to repent of having exaſperated a haughty and vindictive woman, neither reſtrained by principle, nor by affection, from ſeeking to revenge the inſult offered to her pride. Her brother, the count of Auvergne, though recently liberated from confinement, and indebted for his pardon to the clemency of the king, yet lent his aſſiſtance to all her projects. Francis de Balzac d'Entragues, her father, deeply wounded by the paſt diſhonor of his family, and ſtill more, by Henry's attempts to ſeduce his ſecond daughter; not only entered into the general conſpiracy, but, appears to have meditated deſigns, levelled perſonally againſt his life. He even ventured to attack his ſovereign in one of thoſe nocturnal expeditions which Henry undertook to gratify his paſſions; and from which he extricated himſelf only by valor and good fortune. The greateſt prince in Europe, the hero of his age, had nearly fallen a ſacrifice to his indecent purſuit of pleaſures, equally unbecoming his ſtation, and his period of life. Hiſtory vainly attempts to draw a veil over theſe exceſſes, which involuntarily diminiſh our veneration for Henry the Fourth [20].

She determines on revenge.

Projects, to aſſaſſinate the king.

The

[19] De Thou. vol. xiv. p. 320, 321. Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 178—180. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 300, 301. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 248, 249.

[20] Cabin. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 180—185. Memorie recondite de Vittorio Siri. iv. partie, p. 292. Le Laboureur ſur Caſtelnau, vol. ii. p. 600—603. Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 55, 56. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vii. p. 796. Memoires d'Amelot de la Houſſaye, artic. "Entragues."

There is not any tranſaction of the French hiſtory, ſince the acceſſion of the family of Bourbon, perplexed with ſuch doubts, or involved in ſuch obſcurity, as the conſpiracy of the marchioneſs of Verneuil. The contemporary writers were either ignorant of the particulars, or, they did not venture to diſcloſe them,

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1604. Stipulations of Philip the Third.

The three principal conſpirators, in repeated conferences with Taxis and Zuniga, ſucceſſively embaſſadors from the Catholic king to the court of France, laid open their intentions, and demanded the powerful co-operation of Spain. Philip, charmed to find an occaſion

them, from obvious motives of delicacy and caution. De Thou confines himſelf to circumſtances, from their nature univerſally known. Matthieu ſtops ſhort, and declares, that it is not permitted to ſubjects to raiſe the veil, which conceals the myſterious ſecrets of the ſovereign. He minutely relates the ſeizure of the count of Auvergne; but, he preſumes not to enquire into, nor to account for its cauſe. Baſſompierre gives no lights; nor do we find in the "Amours d'Henry IV." written by Margaret of Guiſe, princeſs of Conti, any ſolution of the enigma. The "Journal d'Henry IV." is limited to judicial facts, of general notoriety. Only ſhort and detached fragments are to be gleaned from Sully. In the "Memorie recondite," of Vittorio Siri, there is a conſiderable detail: but, it is embarraſſed, confuſed, and contradictory. The "Chronologie ſeptenaire" of Cayet, goes only to the end of the year 1604. The nature and genius of Mezeray's hiſtory, did not allow him to deſcend to minute narrations of any kind; and he wrote at the diſtance of more than ſixty years after the facts. D'Anquetil, in his "Cabinet "d'Henry IV." has, with great labor, endeavored to collect, to arrange, and to compare, all the different accounts of this plot. Yet, he confeſſes his inability to diſcriminate, or aſcertain the truth. He ſeems even either never to have ſeen, or to have omitted to mention one of the moſt curious and entertaining documents to be found in any author; namely, the relation of the capture of the count d'Entragues, by the provoſt Defunctis, in the caſtle of Marcouſſis. We are indebted for it, to the diligence of "Le Laboureur ſur "Caſtelnau;" and the piece carries in every line, the moſt genuine marks of authenticity. It appears from thence, beyond a queſtion, that d'Entragues did *not* deliver to the king the original promiſe of marriage, given to his daughter. That engagement, in Henry's own hand writing, was found by Lomenie, ſecretary of ſtate, ſent expreſsly for the purpoſe. We may judge of the importance annexed to it, by the precautions taken for its preſervation. Lomenie diſcovered it in a glaſs bottle, ſealed; within a ſecond glaſs bottle, laid upon cotton, and cloſed up in a wall of one of the apartments, at Marcouſſis. He brought it to the king. The treaty between Philip the Third and the conſpirators, the cypher uſed in their correſpondence, and various other letters, were, likewiſe, diſcovered at Marcouſſis.

The attempt of the count d'Entragues, to kill the king in the foreſt of Verneuil, when going diſguiſed to find his youngeſt daughter; is not one of the leaſt wonderful, or ſtrange events, of the conſpiracy. It cannot be doubted that he *did* attack him, and that Henry only eſcaped by vigour and addreſs. Fifteen men were ſtationed in different parts of the wood, in order to intercept and murder him. Some of them, he avoided, without knowing it: his horſe, and his courage enabled him to diſperſe the others. Even after this eſcape, d'Entragues compelled his youngeſt daughter to give him an appointment in a ſolitary place, where it was intended to have aſſaſſinated him: but, though ſhe was obliged to comply with her father's commands, ſhe took care to warn the king of his danger. None of theſe facts came forward on the trial; and it became equally an object to Henry, to the marchioneſs, and to the count d'Entragues, to bury them in the deepeſt oblivion. All the documents and proofs, tending to throw light upon it, were carefully ſuppreſſed.

of

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of wounding the private peace, at the ſame time that he endangered the crown of his inveterate enemy, complied with all their requiſitions. He ſtipulated on oath, that if the marchioneſs would deliver up to him her ſon by Henry, the child ſhould be immediately acknowledged Dauphin, and heir to the French throne. It was likewiſe added, that five fortreſſes in Portugal ſhould be ceded to him as places of ſecurity, together with an annual revenue of more than twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, and an aſylum for his mother. Appointments, pecuniary and military, of magnitude and of truſt, were agreed to be given to the counts of Auvergne and of Entragues. At the ſame time, an invaſion was to be made by the duke of Savoy, in Provence; by the count de Fuentes, in Burgundy; and by Spinola, in Champagne. In every part of the kingdom, concealed adherents were aſſerted to be ready at a proper moment, to appear and aid the inſurgents. The count of Auvergne repaired immediately to the province of that name, ſituated in the centre of France; where his influence, authority, and the attachment of the inhabitants to the family of Valois, from which he ſprung, would enable him to excite a dangerous inſurrection. Only a favorable opportunity was wanting, to carry theſe projects into execution [21].

with the conſpirators.

It was difficult long to conceal a plot of ſuch magnitude and extent, from the vigilance of Henry and his miniſters. An intercepted letter of the count of Auvergne to one of his friends, conveyed the firſt intelligence of it, and excited ſo much alarm, as to induce the king to command his attendance at court without delay. Terrified at ſuch a ſummons, conſcious of his guilt, and expecting to be again immured in the ſame priſon; he invented continual pretexts, to account for his not complying with the order. After vainly expecting him during a conſiderable time, meaſures were, therefore, taken to ſeize his perſon. But, ſo unremitting was

Henry diſcovers the plot.

[21] Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 185— 187, and p. 194, 195. vol. ii. p. 602. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 301, Le Lab. ſur Caſt. 302.

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1604.

Seizure of the count of Auvergne, September.

his circumſpection, that it required equal dexterity and courage to ſecure him, without coming to the laſt extremities. Every obſtacle was, nevertheleſs, ſurmounted by the intrepidity and addreſs of two officers, d'Eurre and Nereſtang, who, having approached him under pretence of reſpect, unhorſed, diſarmed, and made him priſoner. He was conducted, with the greateſt precautions, to Paris, and confined anew in the Baſtile, where he occupied the apartment lately inhabited by Biron. Entragues, nearly at the ſame period, was arreſted at his caſtle of Maleſherbes, and committed to the priſon of the "Conciergerie," in the "Palais;" a place become, unhappily, but too famous in the annals of the preſent age, as the laſt ſtage of the impriſonment and ſufferings of the unfortunate Mary Antonietta, queen of France. The marchioneſs of Verneuil, treated with more diſtinction than her father and brother, was only guarded in her own houſe at Paris, by the lieutenant of the police. Orders were immediately iſſued by Henry, directing the parliament, as the ſupreme criminal tribunal of the kingdom, to proſecute the delinquents with the utmoſt ſeverity [22].

and of his accomplices.

20th Sept. Siege of Oſtend, and ſurrender.

While the public mind throughout France, was ſuſpended in aſtoniſhment at theſe occurrences, the city of Oſtend ſurrendered to Albert and Iſabella, after a ſiege of more than three years. It is one of the moſt memorable in the modern hiſtory of Europe; and it long ſerved for a theatre, on which the youth of England, France, and Holland, eagerly ſought renown, and acquired experience. Every reſource of the military art then known or practiced, was exerted on both ſides; and Pompeio Targon, a Roman engineer, who afterwards became celebrated by conſtructing the dyke to expel the ſea before Rochelle, attempted, though vainly, to prevent the entrance of ſupplies into the port of Oſtend. During the proſe-

[22] Chron. Sept. p. 505. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vii. p. 781—800. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 321—324. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 302—304. Cab. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 187—191. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 62, and p. 64. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 261, 262, and p. 267—270.

cution

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cution of the ſiege, Maurice, prince of Orange, landing on the iſle of Cadſand, inveſted Sluys, and rendered himſelf maſter of it, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Spaniards to relieve the place. The capture was juſtly regarded by the Dutch, as no inadequate equivalent for Oſtend; which did not capitulate till the works were reduced by the artillery of the enemy, to a heap of ruins. Above ſeventy thouſand of the veteran troops of Spain and Flanders periſhed under the walls, by ſickneſs and the ſword. To the great abilities of Ambroſe Spinola, who commanded the army of the archduke, its final reduction was principally due. He was the laſt general of tranſcendent merit and talents, ſent by the court of Madrid to the Netherlands; and he approved himſelf neither unworthy to ſucceed to the prince of Parma, nor to oppoſe Maurice, prince of Orange. In the ſucceeding campaign, he once more transferred the war to the banks of the Rhine; invaded the provinces beyond the Maeſe, from which the Spaniards had long been expelled; and retarded, though he could not ultimately prevent, the complete emancipation of the United States from the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria [23].

1604. Maurice takes Sluys.

Appearance of Spinola.

His exploits.

At the other extremity of Europe, the Ottoman armies, though checked and impeded by the revolts of the Janizaries, by the feuds or intrigues of the ſeraglio, and by the death of Mahomet the Third, who was ſucceeded by Achmet, a minor; yet continued to advance in Hungary. The Tartars even made incurſions to the gates of Preſburg and of Vienna. Rodolph the Second, immured in his laboratory at Prague, and employed in reſearches of alchymy, abandoned to his brothers, the archdukes Mathias and Maximilian, the care of Auſtria, and all his other dominions. Childleſs, and declining in years, the emperor was ſcarcely known to exiſt, except by report; and the imperial power, which, only fifty years before had threatened to ſwallow up the

State of Germany, and of Hungary.

[23] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 193—222, and p. 699—714, and p. 726—755. Mezeray, p. 349—361. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vii. vol. x. p. 314—316.

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liberties of Germany, was fallen into a ſtate of total oblivion [24]. In the north, Charles, duke of Sudermania, youngeſt of the ſons of the celebrated Guſtavus, after having adminiſtered the affairs of Sweden during ſeveral years, and having expelled from the throne his nephew, Sigiſmund, king of Poland; was ultimately elected to fill it himſelf, by the ſtates of that kingdom [25]. He retained the royal authority and title to the end of his life; and tranſmitted the ſceptre to another Guſtavus, deſtined to augment the fame of the family of Vaſa, while he carried the victorious arms of his countrymen, beyond the banks of the Danube, and almoſt to the frontiers of Italy.

1604. Revolution in Sweden.

November. Trial of the conſpirators.

The parliament of Paris, being authorized, and even enjoined by the crown, proceeded, meanwhile, to interrogate the priſoners ſubmitted to their juriſdiction. They were ſeparately examined, and afterwards confronted with each other. But, inſtructed by the example of Biron, who relying on the fidelity of La Fin, had unguardedly admitted the validity of his teſtimony; they began by loading each other with maledictions and reproaches, calculated to weaken or totally deſtroy the force of their reſpective depoſitions.

Their defence.

The count of Auvergne accuſed his ſiſter of a participation in every act, and endeavoured to diminiſh his own criminality, by her equal, or deeper guilt. D'Entragues, on the contrary, exculpated his daughter, and imputed to her brother the whole machination. They both admitted their interviews with Taxis and Zuniga: but, denied that any treaſonable propoſitions had been ever agitated in thoſe

December. conferences. Auvergne pleaded moreover, a pardon already granted him by Henry; and aſſerted, that he had carried on the correſpondence with the embaſſadors of Spain, not only with the privity, but, even by the expreſs command of the king himſelf.

[24] La Croix, Hiſt. Ottom. vol. ii. p. 56—74. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 169—176, and p. 273—284. Pfeffel, Hiſt. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 238—244. Sacy, Hiſt. d'Hongrie, vol. ii. p. 151—157.

[25] Puffendorf, Hiſt. of Sweden, p. 394—400. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 268—273.

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The defence of Entragues was rather a crimination of his ſovereign, than a juſtification of his own conduct. With bitter reflections on his perſonal misfortune, he deplored the lot of an aged and diſhonored parent, on whoſe family an eternal opprobrium had been fixed by the licentious paſſion of the prince, who now attempted to cruſh him by the imputation of fictitious crimes. He juſtified the intention of his daughter to withdraw into Spain, or Flanders, by the apprehenſion which ſhe neceſſarily felt of becoming the victim of an enraged and jealous queen, who breathed only vengeance. Nor did he ſcruple to inform his judges, of the endeavours uſed by Henry to ſeduce his ſecond daughter; of the diſguiſes and nocturnal expeditions in which he had repeatedly engaged with that view; and of the contents of his amorous epiſtles ſtill in her poſſeſſion. He concluded by inſinuating in very unequivocal language, that the object of the preſent proſecution was only levelled at his life, in order to deprive his helpleſs child of the natural and incorruptible guardian of her honor. The marchioneſs, when brought to the bar, manifeſted more indignation, than terror, or contrition. Neither the fear of puniſhment, nor the deſire of life, could bend her haughty ſpirit; and ſhe ſtill perſiſted to conſider herſelf as the legitimate, though oppreſſed and perſecuted wife, of the king of France. At the bare mention of the count of Auvergne, ſhe became furious; ſtigmatized him with every epithet of abhorrence, or ignominy; and demanded a pardon for her father, juſtice for herſelf, and a ſcaffold for her brother [26].

1604. Entragues recriminates on the king.

Behaviour of the marchioneſs.

Notwithſtanding a defence ſo framed to operate on the judgment, while it affected the paſſions of her judges, they did not heſitate to pronounce ſentence againſt her. She was condemned to be cloſely impriſoned in the convent of Beaumont, near Tours, till more ample information could be obtained, relative to her pretended crimes.

1605. They are condemned.

[26] Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 192—200. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 418—428. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 317, 318. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 64, 65, and p. 69.

The

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1605. 1st February. Sentences.

The counts of Auvergne and of Entragues, were at the ſame time, ſentenced to expiate their offences on a ſcaffold in the "Greve;" together with an Engliſhman named Morgan, their accomplice: but, the execution was ſuſpended by an order from the court. Mary of Medecis already anticipated the diſgrace of her inſolent rival, the puniſhment of thoſe who had preſumed to eſpouſe her pretenſions, and the exile of a woman whom ſhe equally dreaded and deteſted. In this expectation, ſhe was, nevertheleſs, deceived. A powerful advocate pleaded in the boſom of the king, for a miſtreſs whom he ſtill loved. She ſoon received permiſſion to retire to her caſtle at Verneuil: by a ſubſequent mitigation of the ſentence, ſhe was reſtored to the full enjoyment of her freedom, and the proceedings againſt her were annulled. Entragues, reinſtated in blood and honors, was exiled to his houſe at Maleſherbes; and Morgan was commanded to quit the kingdom. The count of Auvergne alone, whoſe duplicity had rendered him undeſerving and incapable of being truſted, remained a priſoner in the Baſtile, where he languiſhed many years, and was only ſet at liberty under the regency, in the enſuing reign [27].

23d March. Henry pardons them.

Impriſonment of Auvergne.

Reflexions on the tranſaction.

In reflecting on the whole of this extraordinary tranſaction, we know not whether moſt to wonder at the indecency of Henry, in thus unveiling to the whole nation, the irregularities of his private life; or, whether moſt to reprobate his rendering the higheſt criminal tribunal of France, the engine and inſtrument to humble a haughty miſtreſs. It was not a crime of ſtate, but, a love intrigue, which was ſubmitted to their enquiry, and afterwards withdrawn, at a proper time, from their juriſdiction. The king, it was evident, never meant to diſhonor the object of his affection, though he deſired to reduce her to a neceſſity of complying with his will. The children whom ſhe had borne him, were the pledges of her ſafety.

[27] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 429, 430. Cabinet d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 200—205. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 70, 71. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 333.

Biron

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Biron had, it was true, ſuffered capital puniſhment, for acts of inferior atrocity. But, Henry was not diſpoſed to put to death Entragues, for attempts, which however criminal, were aimed more at the man, than at the monarch; and which originated more in private vengeance, than in treaſon againſt the ſtate. Many reaſons induced him to ſpare the count of Auvergne; the dying recommendations of Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third; the blood of Valois, which circulated in his veins; and perhaps ſtill more, the natural apprehenſion, that ſuch an example might, at another period, form a precedent for bringing to the ſcaffold his own illegitimate iſſue, if involved in treaſonable accuſations. Far from renouncing his connexion with the marchioneſs of Verneuil, he renewed with her a commerce of gallantry; and indirectly permitted, if he did not encourage her, in lancing the ſhafts of her malicious pleaſantry againſt the queen. Yet, inconſtant to his miſtreſſes, as to his wives, he commenced a freſh amour with Jaquelina de Beuil, whom he created counteſs of Moret; after having, in the view of all the inhabitants of Paris, cauſed her to ſolemnize a mock ceremony of marriage with a young man of condition. She ſoon afterwards brought him a ſon. If we conſider the age of Henry at the time when he committed theſe exceſſes, we muſt feel the condemnation excited by them, aggravated. The veneration for the royal dignity, and the affection felt for his perſon and character, muſt have been great, to counterbalance, and extinguiſh the ſenſe of his irregularities, in the minds of his ſubjects [28].

1605. Motives of the king's conduct, in ſparing the conſpirators.

New amours of Henry.

The attention of the court was ſoon diverted from the conſideration of domeſtic intrigues, to foreign tranſactions. Italy attracted expectation, and excited alarm. The count de Fuentes, governor of the Milaneſe, revived the obſolete pretenſions of the Viſcontis and the Sforzas, dukes of Milan; ſummoned the petty princes, or nobles of Lombardy, to produce the titles of their reſpective fiefs; and

Tranſactions in Lombardy.

[28] Amours d'Henry IV., p. 82—85. Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 103, 104. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 320, 321. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 61, and p. 67.

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diffuſed terror over all that part of Europe. At the ſame time he conſtructed the celebrated fort, which ſtill bears his name, at the entrance of the Valteline; and endeavored by force, as much as by the arts of corruption, to render Spain arbitreſs of the Griſons [29]. Clement the Eighth terminated his pontificate at this period, after having occupied the chair of St. Peter above thirteen years. Beſides the honor of according abſolution to a king of France, and receiving him into the boſom of the Romiſh communion; he had the felicity of augmenting the patrimony of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, by the ſubjection of the duchy of Ferrara, on the demiſe of Alfonſo the Second. The cardinal Alexander of Medecis, who had been ſent legate to Henry the Fourth, ſucceeded Clement, by the exertions of the French faction in the Conclave. He aſſumed the name of Leo the Eleventh; and from the beneficence of his character, inſpired expectation of a mild and happy reign. But, theſe premature hopes were blaſted by his death, only a few days afterwards; and Borgheſe, a native of Rome, was elevated to the papal throne, by the title of Paul the Fifth. Baronius, a member of the ſacred college, and known in the annals of literature by the elegance of his hiſtorical writings, was twice on the point of attaining, by the voluntary ſuffrages of the cardinals, to the pontifical dignity. He was as often rejected in conſequence of the efforts of the Spaniſh party, irritated at the doubts which he had thrown on the validity of the Catholic king's title to the crown of the Two Sicilies; and apprehenſive of his tranſcendant virtue and talents [30].

3d March. Death of Clement the Eighth,

1ſt April.

and of Leo the Eleventh.

25th April.

16th May. Election of Paul the Fifth.

Margaret of Valois, queen of Navarre, laſt ſurvivor of that illuſtrious houſe, after having paſſed more than twenty years in obſcurity and indigence, among the ſnows and precipices of Auvergne; re-appeared at this time, in Paris. The facility which ſhe had lent

Return of Margaret of Valois, to Paris. Auguſt.

[29] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 408—411. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 324—326. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 297—305.

[30] Hiſtoire des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 294—368. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 400—408. Hiſt. de Papes, par Coulon, 2d partie, p. 202—207.

to

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to the diſſolution of her marriage, and the marks of attachment exhibited by her towards the king, during the late conſpiracy of her nephew, the count of Auvergne; obliterated in the placable mind of Henry, her multiplied infidelities of every kind. He received her with marks of conſideration and reſpect, lodged her on her arrival, in the royal caſtle of Madrid, near the capital; and extended to her the moſt ample protection. In that metropolis, ſhe paſſed the reſidue of her life, and preſerved, notwithſtanding the ſhocks of adverſity, and the progreſs of age, all the originality of her character. She divided her leiſure between the diſſolute gratifications of the ſenſes, and the practices of auſtere devotion; with which, in imitation of her anceſtor Francis the Firſt, ſhe mingled the love of letters, and the cultivation of the fine arts. Margaret ſurvived the king, and experienced after his death, a continuance of the ſame attention from Mary of Medecis, then become regent of France [31].

July. Fermentation in the interior provinces.

Neither the execution of Biron, the impriſonment of the count of Auvergne, the death of the duke of La Tremouille, which took place nearly at the ſame period, nor the voluntary exile of Bouillon, could extinguiſh the fermentation in the interior provinces of the kingdom. The relations of Biron waited impatiently for a favorable occaſion of revenge; and the adherents of the duke of Bouillon were numerous. Theſe latter derived ſtrength from the powerful ſupport of the Hugonots, who not only ſolicited his pardon and recall, but, indirectly menaced to adopt meaſures equally derogatory to the royal authority, and to the public tranquillity. Intelligence of ſecret practices, and even deſigns of delivering up various important ports to Spain, was received by the government. But, all theſe ſymptoms of inſurrection were anticipated by Henry's promptitude, or diſſipated by his vigour. Roſny, repairing to the aſſembly of the Proteſtants at Chatelherault, in Poitou, contrived to mollify

Vigilance of the king.

4th July.

[31] Vie de Marguer. de Val. p. 391—394. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 434. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 289, 290, and p. 365, and p. 368, and p. 373. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 321—323.

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their reſentment, and to allay their apprehenſions, by granting in the name of their common ſovereign, a prolongation of the term ſtipulated for the ſurrender, or reſtitution of the places of ſurety. That period was lengthened three years. The conceſſion diffuſed univerſal ſatisfaction, and diſarmed the moſt mutinous of the Hugonot leaders [32].

1605. 4th Auguſt.

His meaſures. 15th Sept.

No ſooner was the king relieved from his uneaſineſs on ſo delicate a ſubject, than he prepared to reduce the remaining malcontents by the moſt rigorous exertions of ſeverity. Quitting Paris, he advanced towards the Loire, preceded by the duke of Epernon, at the head of a body of infantry, and ſeveral troops of cavalry. Roſny followed, with a ſmall train of field artillery, adequate to the reduction of any forts which might venture on reſiſtance. A ſpecial commiſſion accompanied the forces, deſigned for the trial and puniſhment of the rebels: it was compoſed of only two maſters of requeſts named for the purpoſe, and veſted with ample authority. Attended by ſuch a military and judicial eſcort, Henry continued his progreſs, and entered Limoges, amidſt the warmeſt teſtimonies of popular affection. His preſence inſtantly produced ſubmiſſion. The principal inſurgents either concealed themſelves, or fled beyond the limits of France, or embraced the determination of meriting a pardon, by diſcloſing the deſigns of their accomplices. Turenne, and the other fortreſſes of Bouillon, though comprehended among the places of ſurety granted to the Proteſtants, yet did not preſume to oppoſe the royal troops. They opened their gates, by orders from the duke himſelf, on the firſt ſummons. It only remained to inflict chaſtiſement on ſuch, as were juridically convicted of treaſonable machinations. The tribunal, which was held at Limoges, condemned five to loſe their heads, and the ſentence was carried into immediate execution. Others were put to death in effigy, and their eſtates confiſcated. The whole

He repairs to Limoges. October.

November.

Seizure, trial, and execution.

16th Dec. of the mutineers.

[32] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 359—390. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 329—331.

conſpiracy,

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conſpiracy, which appears rather to have exiſted in intention, than to have been carried into practice, was rendered abortive; and the king, without waiting to be a ſpectator of the puniſhments decreed by the judges, returned to the metropolis [33].

November. Troubles in Paris.

New troubles awaited him in that capital, of a nature different, indeed, from open inſurrection; but which, nevertheleſs, required the utmoſt dexterity to appeaſe. They originated in the œconomical and financial plans of Roſny, for diminiſhing the debts of the crown, and repleniſhing the royal treaſury. With a view to effecting thoſe purpoſes, the ſuperintendant cauſed commiſſioners to be inſtituted, who were authorized to pay off the life-rents iſſuing out of the town-hall of Paris. Not content with ſo limited a field for their activity, it was agitated to inquire into the origin, validity, and legitimacy of the reſpective contracts, or annuities; and even to ſuppreſs ſuch as ſhould appear to be defective. A meaſure which involved in its conſequences, ſo great a number of individuals, excited the moſt univerſal alarm throughout Paris; and Myron, the firſt municipal officer of the city, ventured with a hardy frankneſs, to ſtate to the king himſelf, at once the injuſtice, and the danger, of perſiſting in its proſecution. There were not wanting perſons in the council, who thought ſuch a conduct highly cenſurable, and who adviſed the arreſt of Myron. It was, nevertheleſs, hazardous to attempt it, the Pariſians having manifeſted a diſpoſition to take up arms in defence of their virtuous magiſtrate. But, Henry had no intention to puſh matters to extremity with his ſubjects. Convinced of the rectitude of Myron's motives, and appeaſed by the ſupplications of the proprietors of the annuities in queſtion, who proteſted their readineſs to ſubmit their rights, and their property, to his ſove-

Their cauſes.

Henry appeaſes them by his wiſdom and lenity.

[33] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 391—399. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 434—439. Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 272—276. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 331—333.

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reign arbitration, he enjoined the ceſſation of all further proceedings on the ſubject [34].

1605. Conſpiracy of Merargues.

So general was the propenſity to conſpire againſt the government, that it could neither be repreſſed by rigor, nor extinguiſhed by clemency. Plots perpetually ſucceeded each other; and they were all fomented or produced, by the emiſſaries of the court of Madrid. Merargues, a gentleman of Provence, undertook to deliver up Marſeilles to the Catholic king; and he repaired to Paris, in order to concert meaſures for the purpoſe, with Zuniga, the embaſſador of Philip. It would ſeem, nevertheleſs, that he poſſeſſed more inclination than ability, to effect ſo arduous a project. Intimation of his deſign having been tranſmitted by the duke of Guiſe, to the government, the conſpirator was followed and taken into cuſtody, together with Bruneau, ſecretary to the Spaniſh embaſſador. They were in the act of conferring together, when ſeized; and a paper having been found upon the ſecretary, which tended to prove his criminal intentions, he was committed to the Baſtile. Merargues was ſpeedily interrogated, and confronted with Bruneau, before the tribunal of the parliament. Zuniga, with menaces, reclaimed his ſecretary, and complained to the king, that the rights of nations were violated, by the ſeizure of a perſon regarded as ſacred. But, Henry juſtified on the principles of ſtate neceſſity and preſervation, his paſt conduct; and did not liberate Bruneau, till he had confeſſed the whole tranſaction. He was then ſent back to the embaſſador, with a copy of the proceedings. Merargues juſtly ſuffered the puniſhment of his crime, in the "Greve," and his four quarters were expoſed over the principal gates of the capital [35].

He is ſeized, 5th Dec.

together with the Spaniſh ſecretary.

19th Dec. Execution of Merargues.

[34] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 443—446. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 333—335.

[35] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 6, 7. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 439—443. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 88, 89. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 343—347.

Incenſed

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1606. January.

Incenſed at ſuch reiterated proofs of the inveterate enmity of the Spaniſh crown, which never ceaſed to moleſt his repoſe, and even to attack his life; the king began to meditate the execution of that vaſt project for the humiliation of the Auſtrian greatneſs, which he was on the point of commencing only four years afterwards, when aſſaſſinated by Ravaillac. It is probable, that he would not even have ſo long delayed it, if Elizabeth, his firm and magnanimous ally, had ſtill continued to reign over the Engliſh: but, from her timid and irreſolute ſucceſſor, his expectations of ſupport or aſſiſtance could only be negative. France, in the lapſe of more than ſeven years ſince the treaty of Vervins, had in a conſiderable degree, recovered the wounds inflicted by civil and foreign war. The indefatigable aſſiduity of Roſny had re-eſtabliſhed the finances, which were in a perpetual ſtate of augmentation. In the arſenal was laid up a formidable apparatus for offenſive hoſtilities; and a prodigious treaſure was already accumulated in the Baſtile. The veteran troops, as well as the youth of France, anxiouſly anticipated a rupture with Philip the Third. Henry opened a ſecret negotiation with the duke of Savoy, in order to detach him from Spain, by the tempting offer of the Milaneſe, with the title of king of Lombardy; and the marriage of his eldeſt daughter to the prince of Piemont, to cement the alliance. To the duke of Bavaria he held out the imperial dignity, which muſt probably ſoon be vacant by the death of Rodolph, who was declining in health and years. The Venetians were cloſely allied with Henry, and had, on every occaſion, during his greateſt adverſity, given him proofs of devotion. From the republic of Holland he was ſecure of vigorous, and effectual co-operation. All the Proteſtant princes of the empire looked to him for protection againſt the encroachments of the houſe of Auſtria. Even beyond the Baltic, he counted allies. Chriſtian the Fourth, king of Denmark, profeſſed for him an admiration, bordering on idolatry; and Charles the Ninth

Projects of Henry.

Meaſures for their execution.

Negotiations with foreign powers,

throughout Europe.

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Ninth owed in a great meaſure the Swediſh crown, to his timely ſupplies of a pecuniary kind [36].

Impediments to their execution.

Many cauſes, nevertheleſs, contributed to delay the commencement of a war, from which Europe might juſtly expect, whenever it ſhould take place, a great political revolution.

Mary of Medecis.

Mary of Medecis, from whom Henry neither deſired, nor, perhaps, could eaſily have concealed his deſigns, interpoſed every obſtacle in her power to their accompliſhment. Bigotted to the Catholic faith, ſhe looked with predilection to Spain, the protectreſs of that religion; and deprecated all connexions, political or perſonal, with heretics. Sprung from the Auſtrian family, ſhe already deſired to lay the foundation of the double marriage between the two crowns, which, when regent of France, after her huſband's death, ſhe ultimately effected.

The Catholics.

All the zealous Catholics, and the antient adherents of the League, who were numerous, joined the party of the queen; nor were there wanting in the cabinet itſelf, miniſters inimical to every meaſure, by which the Spaniſh monarchy would be humbled or attacked. Time was neceſſary to mature the plans concerted with Savoy and Bavaria; and the body of the Hugonots, though apparently loyal, yet was internally agitated by the intrigues, and powerfully excited to action by the emiſſaries, of the duke of Bouillon [37]. It was becoming a prince of wiſdom and experience, to ſecure on a ſolid baſis the tranquillity of his own dominions, before he liſtened to any propoſitions however ſeductive, of foreign conqueſt or glory.

Henry reſolves to reduce Bouillon.

Influenced by theſe reflexions, Henry determined to begin with reducing to obedience his expatriated and mutinous ſubject. During more than three years which had elapſed ſince the execution of Biron, the duke of Bouillon had reſided beyond the limits of France; profeſſing, it is true, his fidelity and allegiance to the king; but, re-

[36] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 7. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 326, 327. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 568, 569.

[37] Sully, ibid. p. 7, 8. Mezeray, ibid. p. 326.

fuſing to give the only ſolid teſtimony of his aſſertions, by perſonally juſtifying himſelf from the charges imputed to him. He had even recently induced four of the Proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, to addreſs a petition to Henry, in his behalf. That prince replied, that he was ready either to grant the duke a trial before a fair and impartial tribunal; or to give him the warmeſt proofs of friendſhip, if he would throw himſelf on the royal clemency [38]. Finding every pacific means of conciliation ineffectual, he iſſued orders to aſſemble forces, and prepared to attack Sedan, capital of the duchy of Bouillon, with a conſiderable army. Many perſons, employed in offices of the higheſt truſt about the throne, endeavoured to delay and to prevent ſo hoſtile a proceeding. They repreſented the danger to be apprehended, if the Proteſtant princes of the German empire, and the king of England, ſhould aid the duke; who, in addition to foreign ſuccors, might expect an inſurrection of the Hugonots in his favor. They exaggerated the ſtrength of Sedan, the military reſources of its poſſeſſor, and the hazard incurred by undertaking the ſiege of ſuch a place. But, theſe imaginary difficulties could not deter the king. Encouraged by Roſny, recently created duke of Sully, who engaged to render him maſter of the city in a few days, he began his march at the head of a body of cavalry, accompanied by the queen and court. Sully had orders to follow, with the infantry and artillery [39].

March. He aſſembles forces.

Begins his march.

Bouillon beheld himſelf, by theſe vigorous exertions, in a ſituation more perilous than that of his predeceſſor, Robert de la Mark, when, encouraged by Francis the Firſt, he ventured to declare war on the emperor Charles the Fifth. Neither Spain, England, nor Germany, ſhewed any diſpoſition to arm in his behalf, nor to ſtand the ſhock of an army, conducted by the greateſt prince and the ableſt commander in Europe. No internal ſymptoms of inſurrection appeared

Dangerous predicament of Bouillon.

[38] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 430, 431.

[39] Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 276, 277. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 9—27. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 547.

in

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in France; and Sedan was incapable of a long reſiſtance. In ſo deſperate a condition, he renewed the negotiation which he had never altogether diſcontinued, and demanded an interview with one of the miniſters, for the purpoſe of adjuſting the terms. Villeroy was diſpatched by Henry, and ſoon diſpoſed the duke to ſubmit to every requiſition. The enmity of Villeroy to Sully, induced him to accelerate the concluſion of a treaty, which rendered uſeleſs the military preparations of his rival. Mary of Medecis herſelf interpoſed her good offices, in order to mediate a reconciliation, and to ſave from ruin a nobleman whoſe talents ſhe reſpected, and whoſe adherence ſhe deſired to ſecure. Sedan was ſurrendered to the king, who in return, granted letters of pardon and abolition to the duke, and to all his adherents [40].

He ſubmits,

and ſurrenders Sedan. 1ſt April.

No ſooner was the treaty reciprocally ſigned, than Bouillon repaired to Donchery, where Henry had eſtabliſhed his head quarters; and arriving before the king was riſen, threw himſelf at his ſovereign's feet. That beneficent prince not only forgave, but replaced him in the familiarity and favor which he had previouſly enjoyed. Entering Sedan, Henry remained in the city three days, and left in it a governor: but at the termination of a month, he cauſed the citadel to be reſtored to its former maſter. On his return to Paris, he conducted the duke of Bouillon in a ſort of honorable captivity, and made a public entry into the capital, accompanied by his priſoner, where he was received amidſt general acclamations [41]. A profound tranquillity ſucceeded to this tranſitory ſtorm, and ſoon obliterated its remembrance. The court was immerſed in pleaſures and diſſipation, of which Henry gave in his own perſon the example; and every circumſtance appeared to promiſe a long continuance of the public felicity.

Henry pardons him,

and returns to Paris.

[40] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 547, 548. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 347—351. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 30—36. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 548—550. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 36—38. Baſſompierre, vol. i. tome i. p. 115, 116.

[41] Hiſt. de Bouillon, vol. ii. p. 277—281.

It

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It was, nevertheleſs, on the point of experiencing the moſt lamentable interruption, by an accident which had nearly proved fatal to the king. As he was returning from the palace of St. Germain to the Louvre, in a coach, accompanied by the queen, the princeſs of Conti, and the dukes of Vendome and Montpenſier; the horſes, in paſſing the river Seine at Neuilly, leaped over the ſide of the boat, and precipitated the carriage into the water. Henry was ſoon ſuccoured by the attendants: but Mary of Medecis narrowly eſcaped death, and was dragged out by the hair. A circumſtance ſo ſerious in itſelf, and which might have terminated ſo tragically for the queen, only ſerved to afford new matter of inſolent pleaſantry and ſarcaſtic ridicule, to the marchioneſs of Verneuil. She even indulged herſelf in theſe effuſions of malignant wit, in the ſociety of Henry himſelf, who ſeems not to have expreſſed any reſentment at her levity. Mary, on the contrary, gave vent to her indignation; and the alienation, which ſo many cauſes of offence naturally produced between her and the king, continued to ſubſiſt, if it did not augment, during the remainder of his life [42].

Danger, incurred by the king, and queen.

9th June.

Inſolence of the marchioneſs of Verneuil.

[42] Amours d'Henry IV., p. 86—88. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 550. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 117. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 353. 354.

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Proſperity and tranquillity of France.—Policy of the king.—Affairs of Holland.—Conferences for peace, between the United Provinces and Spain.—Obſtacles to the treaty.—Concluſion of a truce.—Terms of it.—Death of the laſt duke of Cleves.—Diſputes relative to that ſucceſſion.—State of the French court.—Marriage, and flight of the prince of Condé.—Ineffectual efforts to procure his return.—Negotiations with Lorrain, and Savoy.—Vaſt confederacy, formed for attacking the houſe of Auſtria.—Reflexions on its probable effect upon the ſyſtem of Europe.—Aſſembly of the German princes.—Prince of Condé repairs to Milan.—Preparations for opening the campaign.—Coronation of the queen.—Aſſaſſination of Henry, by Ravaillac.—Circumſtances of it.—Mary of Medicis is declared regent.—Character of Henry.

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1606. Sterility of the French hiſtory, at this period.

THE period, including nearly three years, which elapſed immediately after the ſubmiſſion of the duke of Bouillon, is perhaps more ſterile in events, and more deſtitute of hiſtorical matter, than any portion of time in the annals of France, during the laſt, or the preſent century. If we caſt a general view over the reign of Henry the Fourth, we ſhall find it full of great and brilliant tranſactions, from his acceſſion to the peace of Vervins. Even ſubſequent to that treaty, it ſtill awakens curioſity, and powerfully excites attention. The ſhort war with Savoy, ſo rapid, and ſo ſucceſsful; the treaſon, and execution of Biron; the myſterious conſpiracy of the family of Entragues, involved in impenetrable obſcurity; laſtly, the reduction of Bouillon to his duty and obedience: all theſe ſucceſſive actions conduct us forward, and furniſh ample ſubject for the hiſto-

rian. But, his labours ſeem at this point of time, to ſuſpend; and France preſents, if conſidered politically, a ſpecies of void, till it again lights up for a ſhort ſpace, before the aſſaſſination of the king. Henry at length beheld himſelf elevated to a point of glory and proſperity, which left him nothing to envy, and little to dread. His rebellious ſubjects had felt his power, and experienced his clemency. The laſt great vaſſal of the crown had recently implored, and obtained his forgiveneſs. He had not only ſubjected his revolted people; but he had humbled a more formidable phalanx, the nobility; who ſince the commencement of the civil wars, had inſenſibly become the companions, and almoſt the equals of the ſovereign. Spain, incapable of attacking him by open force, had found it equally difficult to circumvent his vigilance. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, deſpoiled in the late unfortunate conteſt, of ſome of his moſt fertile provinces, looked to the ſame hand which had depreſſed, to elevate him again. The houſe of Lorrain, in all its branches, ſued for his protection. England, ſo renowned under Elizabeth, was fallen into inſignificance, under James; and the ſovereign of Great Britain excited leſs reſpect, and inſpired leſs apprehenſion, than a woman, who only reigned over a part of that extenſive iſland. Henry was confeſſedly, the arbiter and the umpire of Europe; the political deſtiny of which, might be ſaid to depend, in a great degree, on his counſels and determinations.

Proſperity of France,

and of the king.

France exhibited the image of a perfect calm; and it is by the events of the ſurrounding ſtates, rather than by the internal tranſactions of the kingdom itſelf, that we are enabled and compelled to continue its hiſtory; which, as diſtinct from that of Europe, may be almoſt deemed a blank. The court alone was agitated and tumultuous, in the midſt of the national tranquillity. The jealouſy of the queen; the inconſtancy of her huſband; the malice of the marchioneſs of Verneuil; the efforts of contending candidates, to obtain the pre-eminence in Henry's affections; and the augmenting

Fermentation in the court,

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aſcendant, acquired by Conchini and his wife Leonora, over Mary of Medecis: theſe conflicting principles and paſſions produced a perpetual fermentation, and at times threatened to excite a tempeſt [1]. Splendor and pageantry diverſified the ſcene; and at the ceremony of the public baptiſm of the Dauphin, all the pomp of a magnificent ſovereign was diſplayed at Fontainbleau [2]. The fertility of Mary, who ſucceſſively brought into the world two other princes, aſſured the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Bourbon, while it gave an additional ſecurity to the general felicity. Henry, though conſiderably paſt his meridian, yet from the vigor of his bodily and mental faculties, promiſed a reign of long duration. Educated in camps, and habituated to the exerciſes of a military life, he had little taſte for ſedentary purſuits, or literary occupations. His leiſure was divided between the embelliſhment of the royal palaces, the recreation of the chace, and the more pernicious indulgence of a rage for play, which characterized the age, and involved him in expences of incredible magnitude [3].

14th Sept. Grandeur, and diverſions.

Vigilance of Henry.

Theſe relaxations, nevertheleſs, did not preſent the king from diſcharging with ſeverity, the public duties annexed to his ſtation. Sully, always an enemy to thoſe pleaſures which tended to enervate his mind, and to indiſpoſe him for exertions of danger, or of labour; perpetually recalled to him the conſiderations of glory, and the elevation of France. At the ſame time that he inculcated maxims ſo becoming the miniſter of a great ſovereign, he was attentive to facilitate the projects of aggrandizement, of policy, or of ambition, which he recommended. It muſt perhaps be admitted, that in ſome of his financial regulations, and in various of his pecuniary impoſitions, the ſuperintendant was more impelled by the view of filling the royal coffers, than attentive to the happineſs or ability of the people. Many of the taxes were oppreſſive in an extreme degree;

Severity of the taxes.

[1] Baſſom. vol. i. tome i. p. 116—122, and p. 126—129. Amours d'Hen. IV., p. 88—92. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 546.

[2] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 552. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 355, 356.

[3] Baſſom. vol. i. tome i. p. 114, and p. 127, and p. 134. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 305, and p. 327, 328, and p. 360.

and

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and the rigor uſed to enforce them among the inferior orders, accuſed in ſome meaſure, the beneficence of the government [4]. France, though in a ſtate of rapid and progreſſive proſperity, yet had neither enjoyed a calm of ſufficient duration, nor poſſeſſed thoſe commercial reſources, which enabled Louis the Fourteenth, before the end of the century, to impoſe burdens of far ſuperior weight.

1606.

1607. Foreign policy of Henry, in Italy,

The vigilance of Henry was by no means confined to the encreaſe of his revenue, or limited to his own dominions. It pervaded Europe, and anticipated, or regulated all the events, by which the balance of political power, or the exiſting ſyſtem, could be affected. In Italy, where Paul the Fifth had imprudently engaged in a conteſt with the Venetians, which threatened the degradation of the pontifical authority, and the repoſe of all the countries along the ſhore of the Adriatic; the interpoſition of the king mediated an accommodation [5]. His negotiations were ſenſibly felt in all the circles of the German empire, where a great convulſion appeared to be imminent. The princes of the Auſtrian family, weary of the ſupine and paſſive incapacity of the emperor, had already adopted as their chief and repreſentative, the arch-duke Mathias his brother. In the following year, Rodolph was compelled to reſign to him the crown of Hungary, the adminiſtration of Auſtria, and to declare him ſucceſſor to the kingdom of Bohemia; ſole remain of his extenſive patrimonial dominions. The oppreſſions, ſuffered by the Proteſtants; and the ſeizure of Donawert, a free imperial city, which the duke of Bavaria appropriated and incorporated with his own territories, in virtue of an imperial mandate; gave alarming indications of approaching war [6].

State of the German empire.

But it was towards Holland, that the attention of Europe was peculiarly directed; nor could Henry remain an unconcerned ſpec-

Affairs of the United Provinces.

[4] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324—326, and p. 444—446, and p. 448, 449, and p. 553, 554; and vol. xv. p. 2, 3. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 310—314, and p. 328.

[5] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 363—375.

[6] Pfeffel, Abregé Hiſt. d'Allem. vol. ii. p. 244—247. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 638—643.

tator

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tator of any event, which affected the exiſtence of the United Provinces. After above forty years of unremitted efforts againſt the Spaniſh tyranny, that power began to deſpair of ever reducing its revolted ſubjects. Neither the cruelty of the duke of Alva, the valor and deciſion of Don John of Auſtria, the ſublime talents, military and civil, which united in the prince of Parma, nor the enterprize and fortune of Spinola, could atchieve the conqueſt of a people, impelled to reſiſt by a juſt deteſtation of intolerable oppreſſion. Philip the Second was no more: the Low Countries had nominally paſſed into other hands; and Albert, who by his marriage with the infanta, governed the Netherlands, manifeſted an anxious deſire to terminate ſo long and ſo deſtructive a conteſt. Spain was powerfully incited to embrace ſimilar counſels. The general debility of that extenuated monarchy; the feeble genius of its ſovereign, and the pacific diſpoſition of his miniſter, impelled them to preſerve tranquillity, and to ſtop the vaſt expenditure requiſite for feeding the war in Flanders. Motives ſtill more cogent propelled the ſlow and irreſolute cabinet of Madrid. They dreaded the maritime ſtrength of the riſing commonwealth; the loſs of their colonies, flotas, and the valuable monopoly of the trade of both the Indies. Even their own coaſts were not ſecure from depredation, inſult, and hoſtility. Heemſkirk had recently attacked and burnt the fleet of Philip, in the bay of Cadiz, under the greateſt diſadvantages of number; while Hautain, another of the Dutch commanders, engaged the ſquadron returning from India, at the mouth of the Tagus [7]. The very foundations of the Spaniſh greatneſs and wealth in Aſia and Africa, were in danger of being overthrown. On the coaſt of Coromandel, in the Moluccas, at Malacca, and at Mozambique, it was neceſſary to oppoſe thoſe enterpriſing enemies [8].

Exhauſted ſtate of the Spaniſh monarchy.

Naval enterprizes of the Dutch.

[7] Abregé Chron. d'Eſpagne, vol. ii. p. 463, 464. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 653—656. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 124, 125.

[8] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 461—464.

Nor

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Nor had the Dutch leſs powerful reaſons to induce them to prefer peace to the continuance of hoſtilities. They had incurred a prodigious public debt, and laboured under heavy burthens of every kind. The democratic party in the republic dreaded the talents and ambition of Maurice, prince of Orange; who aſpired to poſſeſs a power more extenſive than that of Stadtholder, and who was adverſe to every propoſition of a pacific nature, as he muſt be thereby reduced to comparative inſignificance. The United Provinces could no longer look to England, for the ſame protection which they had derived from Elizabeth. Neither her ſucceſſor, nor the nation continued to regard them with ſo favourable an eye; and the Engliſh already beheld in their republican neighbours, a commercial rival of the moſt enterpriſing kind. Even France might become weary of contributing towards the ſupport of a war, from which ſhe derived no apparent profit; and might ſacrifice Holland to greater intereſts of ſtate. To theſe foreign conſiderations, were added domeſtic apprehenſions of a ſerious nature. Spinola, not content with repelling the enemy from Brabant or Flanders, had adopted a ſyſtem of hoſtilities, at once more analogous to his genius, and more diſtreſſing to the States. Supplying from his own fortune the neceſſities of the army, and conducted by his ſuperior ſkill, he led his troops into Zutphen and Overyſſel. In defiance of Maurice, he captured various places in thoſe provinces; retained his acquiſitions by garriſons, ſtationed in the conquered towns; and ſpread a degree of terror to the gates of Utrecht and of Amſterdam [9].

Motives of the Dutch, for making peace.

Jealouſy of the Engliſh.

Exploits of Spinola.

Mutually impelled by reflexions of ſuch ſolidity, the two powers appeared to liſten with ſatisfaction to propoſals of peace. They were made, on the part of Albert and Iſabella, with every external demonſtration of ſincerity. After a fruitleſs exhortation, rather than a requiſition, to the States, to re-unite themſelves to their antient

Suſpenſion of arms.

[9] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 528—538. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 375—377. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 131.

and

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and common ſovereign; it was agreed, as the baſis of the negotiation, to regard the ſeven United Provinces as a free and independant republic. A truce of eight months was likewiſe concluded, in order to allow time for a ſimilar declaration on the part of Spain, and to adjuſt the many important points requiſite to be conceded on either ſide. Henry, deeply intereſted in the progreſs and termination of the treaty, inſtantly diſpatched Jeannin, one of the moſt able ſtateſmen of his time, in quality of embaſſador extraordinary, to the Hague. He was received with diſtinguiſhed honors, and conſulted on every article of the projected pacification. James the Firſt, equally deſirous to participate in ſo important a tranſaction, and invited by the States to take an active part in their concerns, ſent two of his miniſters to aſſiſt at the conferences [10].

14th May.

28th May. Henry ſends embaſſadors to the Hague.

July.

Interruption of the treaty.

They were, nevertheleſs, ſuſpended almoſt at their commencement, by the defects, or omiſſions diſcovered in the act of ratification tranſmitted on the part of Philip the Third. Neither the form, tenor, nor expreſſions, adopted by the Catholic king, appeared to contain a clear and unequivocal declaration of the independance of the Dutch. The States refuſed therefore, to treat either of a truce, or a peace, till a more ſatisfactory aſſurance was given upon ſo eſſential a point. It became requiſite to conſult the court of Madrid anew; and ſome months elapſed before a ſecond inſtrument arrived from thence. Even in this amended piece, though free from ſome of the objections made to the former, there ſtill remained ſuch ambiguities or reſervations, as to induce the States to refer it to the conſideration of the reſpective provinces, compoſing the republic. After mature deliberation, their deputies, aſſembled at the Hague, determined, though not unanimouſly, that it might be admitted as the groundwork and baſis of a treaty; provided that in every ſtage of the negotiation, care was taken to obtain the recognition of their ſove-

14th Oct.

Obſtacles,

3d Nov.

ſurmounted.

[10] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 661—666. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 377—380.

reignty. Thus authorized, a favorable anſwer was returned to the court of Bruſſels; and a prolongation of the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was mutally agreed on, as the time limited for the expiration of the ſubſiſting truce, had nearly elapſed. The king of Denmark, and various Proteſtant princes of the empire, impelled by their friendſhip for the Dutch, ſent embaſſadors to Holland, which country became the centre of political intrigue, and the theatre of univerſal expectation [11]. CHAP. VIII. 1607. December.

While the miniſters of the various powers prepared to commence their deliberations; the Dutch, uncertain of the final iſſue, and anxious to ſecure ſuch a guarantee, as might compel Spain to the ſtrict obſervance of the conditions, or afford them protection againſt the arms of Philip; beſought of the two kings of France and England to enter into a new treaty for their defence. Henry acceded immediately to the propoſition, notwithſtanding the open and violent oppoſition made by the bigotted members of his counſel, to an alliance with heretics. From England greater difficulties were experienced, on account of the ſums due by Holland to that crown: but they were at length ſurmounted; and James contracted engagements of the cloſeſt nature with the United Provinces [12]. Fortified by ſuch powerful allies, they conteſted with vigor, not only for independance, but, for the uncontrouled freedom of commerce in every part of the globe. It was in vain that the embaſſadors of Spain repreſented the excluſive grant of the two Indies, made by the Romiſh pontiffs to the Spaniſh and Portugueſe princes; and refuſed to admit of any participation in that valuable commerce. The Dutch oppoſed to the Papal donation, the inalienable right of every people to navigate the ſeas, by which nature has connected the moſt diſtant regions of the earth; and they declared their reſolution, rather to have re- 1608. January. Treaty of guarantee, made by France and England. 23d January. June. Diſputes reſpecting commerce,

[11] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 667–675. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 116, 117, and p. 143—146. and p. 152—155.

[12] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 389. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 32—34.

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courſe anew to the deciſion of arms, than ever to renounce ſo animating an incitement to induſtry, and ſo vaſt a ſource of wealth. They were not leſs divided on another article, the public toleration of the Catholic religion; on which Philip inſiſted, and to which the States ſeemed determined never to accede. Maurice, prince of Orange, ſuſtained by the army, by all the enterprizing ſpirits who found occupation in war, and even by many of the mercantile claſs who were alarmed at the idea of being precluded from the trade to the Indies, by a treaty; fomented the quarrel, and continually retarded any accommodation. His high rank in the republic, the eminent ſervices which he had rendered, and the number of his adherents, particularly in Zealand, enabled him to oppoſe almoſt inſurmountable barriers to the accompliſhment of peace [13].

1608. and toleration.

Oppoſition of the prince of Orange.

Embaſſy of Philip, to Paris.

In this embarraſſing ſituation, the Spaniſh cabinet, reluctant to concede a point of ſuch conſequence as the Indian commerce, and unable to perſuade, or to compel the Dutch to relinquiſh it; embraced a meaſure, calculated if ſucceſsful, at once to enable them to dictate terms to the States. A ſplendid embaſſy was ſent by Philip, to the court of France, at the head of which was placed Peter de Toledo, a nobleman nearly allied by blood, to Mary of Medecis. He was empowered to propoſe the marriage of the eldeſt princeſs of Spain with the Dauphin, and to offer as the portion of the bride, a complete ceſſion to France, of all the rights of the houſe of Auſtria on the Low Countries [14]. A propoſition, at once ſo ſpecious and ſo dazzling, might have deluded a prince of inferior penetration. But, Henry eaſily perceived its fallacy, which was deſigned to ſecure immediate and ſolid advantages to Spain, in return for contingent and uncertain benefits. He was well aware, how many natural, and artificial impediments might ariſe, to prevent the accompliſhment of the projected nuptials, or to ſet aſide the ſtipulations.

September.

Object of it.

Motives of Henry, for rejecting the propoſal.

[13] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 234—238, and p. 241—245. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 34—42.

[14] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 24. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 402, 403.

Perſonal,

Perſonal, as well as public reaſons, rendered him averſe to forming any alliance with a houſe, which throughout his whole life, had given him marks of its enmity, and which he meditated to reduce within narrower limits. His plans for attacking the Spaniſh monarchy in every part of Europe, were already conſiderably advanced, and only demanded a favorable occaſion, to appear in their full force. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, diſſatisfied with the treatment which he received from the court of Madrid, and impatient to retrieve the loſſes ſuſtained in the late war with France; eagerly invited Henry to form an offenſive treaty, for the reduction of the Milaneſe. The king had liſtened to his propoſal, and though he did not inſtantly proceed to carry it into execution, he only deferred it for a ſhort period [15]. In addition to ſo many political motives, he was bound by the ties of faith and treaty, to ſupport the United States againſt their ancient maſters. He declined, therefore, the offers of Toledo, and rejected every ſolicitation of the queen, to enter into connexions with the Auſtrian family [16].

He declines its acceptance.

During theſe tranſactions, the deputies of Spain and of the archduke, unable to regulate the many points conteſted, had finally withdrawn from the Hague, and returned to Bruſſels. The conferences terminated: the party of the houſe of Orange was triumphant; and hoſtilities were expected to recommence. But Henry, though fully determined not to accept any overtures from Philip, yet was impelled by weighty reaſons, to conclude an accommodation between that monarch and the Dutch. He wiſhed to diſarm Flanders, through which country he might ſpeedily have occaſion to paſs, in the proſecution of his views againſt the imperial houſe, and in favor of the Proteſtant princes of the empire [17]. Nor was he ignorant, that while the arms and exertions of the Spaniards were employed againſt Holland, the apprehenſions entertained by the German and Italian ſtates,

30th Sept. Rupture of the conferences, at the Hague.

Motives of Henry, for reſuming them.

[15] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 790, 791, and p. 793. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 20—24.

[16] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 25.

[17] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 393.

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relative to the ambitious deſigns of the cabinet of Madrid, would be conſiderably diminiſhed; and that they would be in conſequence, leſs diſpoſed to enter with warmth, into his projects for the humiliation of the Spaniſh monarchy [18]. Actuated by conſiderations of ſuch moment, he ordered Jeannin to repair anew to the ſcene which he had quitted, and to endeavour by every poſſible exhortation, or even menace, to effect a truce of conſiderable length, if a definitive peace ſhould be found impracticable. That miniſter exerted himſelf with ſuch energy, that the delegates of the reſpective powers re-aſſembled at Antwerp; and after violent debates, a truce of twelve years was finally ſettled, under the guarantee of France and England [19].

1609. 25th March. Concluſion of a truce. 9th April.

Conditions of it.

By this celebrated agreement, which ſuſpended, though it did not terminate the hoſtilities, that had ſo long deſolated ſome of the richeſt and moſt commercial countries of Europe; the independance of the United Provinces was admitted by Philip. Nevertheleſs, it was rather implied, than formally recognized in the explicit terms which the jealouſy and pride of the States had wiſhed to dictate. Nor was the permiſſion to navigate the Indian ſeas, and to traffic in thoſe remote poſſeſſions, more diſtinctly and ſpecifically granted. It required the utmoſt efforts of the French and Engliſh miniſters, to induce the Dutch to acquieſce in the ambiguous declarations extorted on that point, from the Spaniſh crown. On the other hand, all the inſtances of the Catholic king were ineffectual, to obtain a toleration of the Romiſh religion; and it was only in compliance with the entreaties of Henry, to whoſe friendſhip they were ſo much indebted, that the deputies of the Seven Provinces ſoon afterwards conſented to relax the ſeverity of the penal laws againſt the Catholics. Even the relaxation granted, was ſimply a permiſſion to perform the exerciſes of devotion in private houſes, without moleſtation. Each

[18] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 23. [19] Ibid. p. 43, 44. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 392—394.

power

power continued in poſſeſſion of the cities and fortreſſes reſpectively occupied by them, at the time of ſigning the truce; which was proclaimed with demonſtrations of univerſal joy [20]. 1609.

Expulſion of the Moors from Spain.

Philip, who had thus compulſively and reluctantly conſented to the emancipation of Holland, committed almoſt immediately afterwards, a voluntary fault of far greater conſequence to the proſperity of Spain. At the inſtigation of the tribunal of the inquiſition, he ordered the expulſion of more than a million of his moſt laborious and induſtrious ſubjects. The Moreſcoes, unable to defend themſelves, proſcribed by the incapacity and bigotry of their ſovereign, and abandoned by every power either Chriſtian or Mahometan; were driven from their native homes and poſſeſſions, to ſeek a precarious aſylum on the inhoſpitable ſhore of Barbary. The ſouthern provinces, depopulated and uncultivated, long reproached the pernicious intolerance of the government, which vainly endeavoured to remedy the evil that it had produced. It muſt be confeſſed, that the animoſity of Henry towards the houſe of Auſtria, however great, could ſcarcely have inflicted on Spain a more deep and incurable wound [21].

Its effects.

Death of the duke of Cleves.

The occaſion which he had ſo ardently deſired, of attacking a family, which in both its branches, had long impreſſed Europe with terror; by a ſingular coincidence of circumſtances, preſented itſelf, nearly at the preciſe time of the ſignature of the truce between Philip and the Dutch. John William, duke of Cleves, expired after an illneſs of ſhort duration, leaving no iſſue. His dominions, conſiſting of the three duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, the counties of La Mark and Ravenſperg, and the lordſhip of Ravenſtein, rendered him one of the moſt powerful princes of the German empire. Thoſe fertile provinces, watered in their whole extent, by the Rhine, and the Meuſe, and ſtretching from the gates of Nimeguen, nearly to the

25th March.

Extent of his dominions.

[20] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 332—334. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 43—49. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 394, 395. Bentivoglio, p. 378—387.

[21] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 465. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 395—397.

walls

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walls of Coblentz; were contiguous, on the weſtern frontier, to the duchy of Limburg, and to the territories of the United States in Gelderland. It neceſſarily became therefore, an object of the moſt ſerious nature, to the king of Spain and to the archduke on one hand, as well as to the Dutch republic on the other, to provide that ſo rich a ſucceſſion ſhould not fall into the hands of an enemy.

Claims of the various princes.

Various pretenders laid claim to the vacant ſucceſſion, on oppoſite grounds or principles. The deceaſed duke had left four ſiſters, three of whom had iſſue; and the huſbands, or ſons of which princeſſes ſeemed to have the moſt inconteſtable title. But Chriſtian the Second, elector of Saxony, oppoſed to their rights of conſanguinity a donation, or expectative, conferred on one of his anceſtors by Frederic the Third, in virtue of a recognized prerogative of the emperors; that of diſpoſing of all fiefs even before their vacancy. He maintained likewiſe, that thoſe in queſtion, were maſculine and indiviſible [22].

Rodolph the Second evokes the cauſe to himſelf.

A queſtion of ſuch magnitude, and involved in ſuch perplexity, ought, according to the fundamental maxims of the German juriſprudence, to have been tried before the Aulic council; the only competent tribunal for diſcuſſing matters, ariſing out of the feudal ſyſtem of the empire. But in order to enforce the ſentence, it demanded an emperor of another deſcription from Rodolph. That feeble prince, it is true, endeavoured to become umpire and judge of the conteſt, by evoking it to himſelf; and the elector of Saxony, ſecure of receiving the eventual poſſeſſion of the fiefs, ſubmitted inſtantly to the imperial requiſition. Rodolph did not even heſitate to confer on him the inveſtiture, though by a ſecond edict, he enjoined the ſequeſtration of the litigated countries; and authorized his couſin, the archduke Leopold, biſhop of Paſſau, to take poſſeſſion of them,

[22] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 247, 248. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 362—369. L'Art de Verif. tome iii. p. 187. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 413, 414. De Thou. vol. xv. p. 68—70.

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till the final deciſion. Meanwhile, the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg, who in virtue of their deſcent from the two eldeſt ſiſters of John William, ſeemed to have the faireſt claims on his dominions, and who well knew that they would be ejected by the emperor; did not manifeſt any deference for his injunctions. Entering the provinces to the eaſt of the Rhine, at the head of their forces, they advanced to Duſſeldorf, capital of the duchy of Berg, into which city they were immediately received. They had previouſly agreed, at the town of Dortmund, where they held a conference, to govern the countries in common, under the title of princes poſſeſſors; and the States, who were aſſembled at Duſſeldorf, readily acknowledged them as proviſional ſovereigns [23].

1609. Elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Neuburg.

31ſt May. enter Duſſeldorf.

16th June.

During theſe tranſactions, Leopold, commiſſioned by the emperor, rendered himſelf maſter of the city and citadel of Juliers; while Rodolph publiſhed a new decree, by which he declared all who ſhould afford aſſiſtance to the princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg, guilty of treaſon, and put to the ban of the empire. As it was nevertheleſs evident, that France would take an intereſt, and even an active concern in the diſpute; Albert and Iſabella inſtantly diſpatched an embaſſador, to acquaint Henry with the motives for Leopold's ſeizure of Juliers. He was ſpeedily followed by the count of Hohenzollern, on the part of Rodolph himſelf, who endeavoured to juſtify the act, on the principles of the German conſtitution, and profeſſed the intentions of his imperial majeſty to relinquiſh the territories ſequeſtered, as ſoon as the right to them could be decided. Nor did the two Proteſtant princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg omit to plead their cauſe before the ſame tribunal; and they earneſtly ſolicited the king to aid them in ejecting the houſe of Auſtria, from any interference in the ſucceſſion to the dominions of Cleves. It was not difficult to foreſee, on which ſide Henry's inclinations, as well as his

Leopold ſeizes on Juliers.

Various embaſſadors ſent to Henry.

July.

[23] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 70. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 249. Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 440—442.

policy

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policy would induce him to fix; and he did not leave the contending parties long in uncertainty relative to his ultimate reſolution. Secure of the ſtrenuous co-operation of the United Provinces, who, terrified at ſo formidable a neighbour as Leopold, offered the king to break the truce recently concluded with Spain; urged by the greater part of the Proteſtant ſtates of the empire, who dreaded the further aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria; and aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, on the ſide of Italy; he did not heſitate to promiſe affirmative aid to the confederate princes. His troops began immemediately to aſſemble in Champagne, and preparations were made for commencing active hoſtilities [24].

He promiſes aid to the Proteſtant princes.

State of the court of France.

Notwithſtanding the apparent deciſion and celerity of theſe movements, neither tranquillity nor unanimity were found in the court of France. Mary of Medecis, actuated by jealouſy and deteſtation of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, continued to render the palace a ſcene of perpetual ſtrife. Inſtead of attempting to reclaim her faithleſs huſband, by the arts of gentleneſs and conciliation, ſhe lent all her confidence to Conchini and Leonora, who abuſed their aſcendancy over her, and excited her to vengeance. It is ſcarcely credible that two Florentine adventurers, obſcure in their origin, and endowed with no pre-eminent talents, ſhould impreſs with a degree of apprehenſion, the greateſt monarch in Europe, in the midſt of his capital and courtiers. It is not leſs certain, that Henry, whoſe facility and indeciſion in private life equalled his valor in the field, could never be induced by any remonſtrances, to order the ſeizure and removal of two inſolent incendiaries, who indirectly menaced to take revenge, if he proceeded to acts of violence againſt their perſons. Nor could the queen be perſuaded voluntarily to diſmiſs them, though every effort was made for that purpoſe by the king's command, and through the medium of thoſe, whoſe attachment to her was unqueſtionable.

Influence, and power of Conchini, and Leonora.

[24] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 71, 72.

It

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It was already apparent, that if any unexpected accident ſhould deprive France of its ſovereign, the influence of Conchini and his wife over their miſtreſs would be unbounded, and might not improbably involve the kingdom, as well as themſelves, in the greateſt calamities [25].

Attachment of the king,

An event which took place at this period, increaſed the miſunderſtanding between Henry and the queen, filled the court with confuſion, and greatly inflamed the other cauſes of quarrel with the houſe of Auſtria. It originated in the ſame unreſtrained indulgence of his paſſion for the ſex, which on ſo many other occaſions, had obſcured his glory, or embittered his repoſe. Neither the charms of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, of the counteſs of Moret, nor of the lady of Eſſarts, with all of whom he lived in an avowed commerce of gallantry, could prevent him from becoming ſenſible to the attractions of Henrietta de Montmorency, daughter to the conſtable. Her high birth and quality formed no impediment to his deſigns; which though veiled for ſome time, even from himſelf, were unqueſtionably levelled at her honor. She was in the firſt bloom of youth and beauty; nor did the diſparity of age prevent her from receiving with complacency, the attentions of ſo great a monarch [26]. Her father had deſtined her hand for Baſſompierre, a young and accompliſhed courtier. But Henry, apprehenſive that her ſeduction might be more difficult, if ſhe married a man to whom her affections were engaged, contrived to ſet aſide the match, and to ſubſtitute in the place of Baſſompierre, the prince of Condé. It was not without ſome heſitation, that the prince conſented to eſpouſe her, after having received from the king's own mouth, every aſſurance which could ſatisfy him, relative to the virtue and chaſtity of his future bride [27].

to Henrietta de Montmorency.

Her marriage with the prince of Condé.

[25] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 400—402. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 185—194.

[26] Amours d'Henry IV., p. 92.

[27] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 135—149. Cabin. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 227—230. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 407—409.

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Henry prince of Condé, firſt prince of the blood, was at this time, ſcarcely twenty-one years old; and though deſtitute of ſhining parts, betrayed more ſenſibility, as well as reſentment, at the manifeſt intentions of the king to diſhonor his bed, than it is probable, were expected by the monarch. After the celebration of the nuptials, finding that Henry's conduct afforded an unequivocal teſtimony of the ſame deſign, he began by removing the princeſs from court. Her abſence, far from extinguiſhing, encreaſed the violence of the king's deſires. Unreſtrained by decorum, by reflexions on his own age, ſtation, and example, or by any reſpect for the ſanctity of a marriage to which he had eminently contributed; Henry the Fourth did not bluſh to attempt the gratification of his paſſion, by deſcending to ſteps the moſt unbecoming. In a diſguiſe, accompanied by ſome companions and inſtruments of his pleaſures, he repeatedly endeavoured, under ſhelter of the night, to viſit the young princeſs, at the caſtles of Chantilly, and of Verteuil, to which ſhe had been ſucceſſively transferred by her huſband's apprehenſions [28]. Juſtly alarmed at ſuch a conduct, the prince remonſtrated with a warmth proportionate to the injury. The king, incenſed at his temerity, withdrew the appointments iſſuing out of the royal treaſury, which conſtituted the principal part of Condé's ſubſiſtance; and Sully ventured indirectly to menace him with exile or impriſonment, if he did not inſtantly, in compliance with Henry's orders, bring back his wife to court [29].

He removes her from court.

Attempts of Henry, to ſeduce the princeſs.

Auguſt.

Menaces of Sully.

After ſo peremptory a declaration of Henry's will, the prince conceived not without reaſon, that his only ſafety lay in flight. Having therefore, mounted the princeſs on horſeback behind him, he took the road to Flanders, and reached Landrecy, beyond the frontiers of the French dominions, the ſame night. Albert and Iſa-

29th Auguſt. Flight of Condé.

[28] Memor. recon. tome ii. p. 87. Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 230, 231.

[29] Cab. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 232, 233. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 343.

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bella, unacquainted with the motives for his retreat, and anxious to preſerve the Netherlands in repoſe, no ſooner received intelligence of his arrival, than they diſpatched to him the duke of Arſchot, with injunctions to Condé to quit their territories in three days. He obeyed, and retired to Cologne, after having previouſly ſent his wife to Bruſſels, where ſhe was entruſted to the care of Philip, prince of Orange, his brother-in-law. But, at the ſuggeſtion of Spinola, and in compliance with the directions of the court of Madrid, Condé was ſoon afterwards permitted to repair to Bruſſels in perſon. He was received with the greateſt honors by the arch-duke and Iſabella; entertained magnificently by Spinola; and aſſured of meeting, both for himſelf, and for the princeſs, with the protection due to their rank and misfortune [30].

His reception, at Bruſſels.

Henry did not attempt to conceal the agitations of his mind, on the reception of ſo unpleaſing an event. In a haſty and diſorderly council, compoſed of his principal miniſters; after many oppoſite opinions, it was finally determined to demand of the court of Bruſſels, the immediate delivery of the prince and princeſs. Praſlin was ordered to repair thither, and to ſpare neither menaces, promiſes, nor preſents, in order to effect the object. Albert, apprehenſive of the king's indignation, and dreading an invaſion of Flanders, ſeemed to incline towards a compliance with Praſlin's requiſitions. But the diſhonor, attached to abandoning two perſons of the higheſt quality, who had fled to him for an aſylum; joined to the ſentiments of female modeſty and virtue in the boſom of the arch-ducheſs, prevented their liſtening to any inducements of an intereſted nature. They replied therefore, in terms of the utmoſt deference and reſpect, that they could not violate the laws of hoſpitality by ſurrendering a prince who had taken refuge in their dominions: but, that the king might be aſſured he would never depart in the ſlighteſt degree, from the

Henry demands the prince, from Albert.

October. Anſwer of the court of Bruſſels.

[30] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 80, 81. Baſſompierre, vol. i. tome i. p. 175, and p. 178, 179. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 344. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 410.

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duty and allegiance due to his ſovereign. On neither ſide was any expreſs mention made of the princeſs; though it was well underſtood in the two courts, that her detention conſtituted the principal object of Henry's anxiety [31].

Reſentment of Henry.

Incenſed at the preſumption of Albert and Iſabella, in ſheltering a prince of the blood, who might become a dangerous inſtrument in the hands of the Spaniards; and driven almoſt to a ſtate of diſtraction, by the abſence and loſs of the princeſs of Condé; Henry reſolved to inflict vengeance on the authors of this double misfortune and affront. His paſſions coinciding on the occaſion with his policy, accelerated every movement and operation of the cabinet.

Negotiation with Lorrain,

Baſſompierre had been already diſpatched to the court of Nancy, to commence a negotiation with Henry, who had recently ſucceeded to his father Charles the Third, in the dukedom of Lorrain. He was inſtructed to demand the daughter of the duke in marriage for the Dauphin; and as that prince was deſtitute of male iſſue, ſuch an alliance would, it was probable, at a future time unite Lorrain to the French crown. The propoſal, after ſome irreſolution, was accepted; and the king ſecured at once a valuable ally, while he opened to his poſterity the proſpect of ſo conſiderable an augmentation of dominion [32].

and with the German princes.

Baſſompierre was ordered to proceed into Germany, and to attach to Henry's intereſts the elector Palatine, the duke of Wirtemberg, and other princes of the empire; a commiſſion which he executed with equal dexterity and ſucceſs [33].

Treaty with Savoy. 3d Novem.

With the duke of Savoy, the king entered into the cloſeſt ties of union, political and perſonal. A treaty was concluded between them, by which it was

Conditions.

ſtipulated to attack the Milaneſe with their joint forces. That duchy, if conquered, was to remain to Charles Emanuel; whoſe territories

[31] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 176—178. Cab. d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 235—241. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 345—352. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 410, 411. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 81, 82.

[32] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i, p. 152—156, and p. 161—172.

[33] Ibid. p. 156—160.

thus

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thus augmented, were to be conſtituted a kingdom, and the title of king of Lombardy revived in his perſon. As the ſtrongeſt proof of their mutual ſincerity, the eldeſt of Henry's daughters was contracted to the prince of Piemont; penſions of very conſiderable value were conferred by him, on the three younger ſons of the duke of Savoy; and Philibert, the ſecond, was created duke of Chartres. The commencement of hoſtilities was only delayed till the enſuing ſpring; at which time it was fixed that Leſdiguieres ſhould join his troops to thoſe of Charles Emanuel, in order to penetrate into Italy [34].

1609. 28th Decem.

1610. Confederation, formed by Henry.

Already that vaſt political confederation, which Henry had laboured during ſo many years to complete, and which appeared to be on the point of giving to Europe a new aſpect, prepared to enter on action. We cannot contemplate without a degree of amazement approaching to incredulity, the magnitude and extent of its powers. James the Firſt, king of Great Britain, was neither from character, nor from inclination, diſpoſed to take any active part: but his eldeſt ſon, Henry prince of Wales, a youth of martial and enterprizing talents, eager to ſignalize himſelf under ſo great a commander as Henry the Fourth; had repeatedly and recently engaged to conduct ſix thouſand infantry, and five hundred horſe, to his aſſiſtance [35]. Maurice prince of Orange, was authorized by the republic of Holland, to promiſe fifteen thouſand foot, beſides three thouſand cavalry; and the confederate princes of the German empire furniſhed a ſimilar number [36]. The united forces of Savoy and Venice amounted to twenty-nine thouſand men, independant of eleven thouſand under Leſdiguieres [37]. The king himſelf was to aſſume the command of the grand army, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand foot, and five

England.

Holland, and Germany.

Savoy, and Venice.

Military force of France.

[34] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 76—79. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 793—795. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 404, 405. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 403, 404, and p. 417, 418. Baſſompierre, vol. i. tome i. p. 180—183.

[35] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 457, and p. 463.

[36] Idem, ibid. D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 542.

[37] Sully, ibid. D'Aubig. ibid.

thouſand

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Funds for carrying on the war.

thouſand horſe, accompanied with twenty cannon[38]. All the internal regulations of police or of finance, which could give energy to the operations of war, and accelerate the expected ſucceſs, were made by Henry. The kingdom was tranquil, accuſtomed to obey, and adminiſtered with vigor. Sully had laid up in the Baſtile a ſum in ſpecie, amounting nearly to a million of pounds ſterling; and he poſſeſſed effects, or letters of exchange, capable of being immediately converted into money, for half a million more[39]. Such was his œconomy, his intimate knowledge of the pecuniary capacity and reſources of France, as well as his ability in diſcovering modes of ſupplying the treaſury, that he had engaged to furniſh all the demands for ſo many armies, during four or five years[40].

Plan for dividing the Auſtrian and Spaniſh provinces.

The partition and diſtribution of the provinces, projected to be diſmembered from the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria, were framed with equal judgment, and attention to the reſpective pretenſions of the confederates. France alone was not to receive, at leaſt immediately, any oſtenſible territorial augmentation; Henry aiming rather at the diminution of the power of Philip and Rodolph, than at the encreaſe of his own dominions[41]. This moderation was highly uſeful in conciliating the various ſtates of Europe, who had been long accuſtomed to dread the ambition of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second. The ſeven United Provinces were to be rewarded by the permanent acquiſition of ſome parts of the Auſtrian Netherlands[42]. To Venice was to be given the iſland of Sicily, and a portion of the Milaneſe on the banks of the Adda[43]. The dignity of king of the Romans, and the reverſion of the imperial crown, were offered to the duke of Bavaria; and it was intended to reſtore the Hungarians and Bohemians to their an-

[38] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 446. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 422, 423.
[39] Sully, ibid. p. 472, 473.
[40] Ibid. p. 468—471.
[41] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 543.
[42] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 460.
[43] Ibid. p. 462. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 406.

tient

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tient right of electing a ſovereign on every vacancy of the throne [44]. Sweden and Denmark were to be admitted as allies, to ſhare in the ſpoils of Germany. The Helvetic confederacy was to be enlarged, by the addition of the Tyrol, Alſace, and the county of Burgundy [45]. Even Paul the Fifth, who filled the chair of St. Peter, ſeems to have tacitly, if not formally, acceded to this vaſt league; although aimed at the demolition of the very power, from which the holy ſee had always received the moſt ſteady ſupport. The donation of the kingdom of Naples, on which the Romiſh pontiffs had pretenſions, overcame his ſcruples, and vanquiſhed his repugnance. It would be difficult to credit this fact, if it did not reſt on indubitable authority [46]. Philip, bereft of all his Flemiſh, Italian, and other ſcattered poſſeſſions, except Sardinia and the Balearic iſlands; would have been confined to the continent of Spain between the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, together with his colonies in Aſia, Africa, and the new world. The treaty of Utrecht, which actually reduced the Spaniſh monarchy to thoſe limits, would have been anticipated by near a century; and France would have become under Henry the Fourth, by the voluntary conſent of the other powers, as ſhe effectively was at a later period, under Louis the Fourteenth, by force; the arbitreſs of Europe [47].

Aſſent of the court of Rome, to it.

If

[44] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 461, 462. D'Aub. vol. iii. p. 542, 543.

[45] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 381.

[46] Ibid. p. 462. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 406, 407. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 88.

[47] That Henry the Fourth had not only projected to divide Europe into fifteen ſtates, and to form from their union a ſpecies of commonwealth, or "Republique Chretienne," which ſhould enjoy perpetual peace; but, that he had long revolved, weighed, and perfected the outline of his plan, is inconteſtable. However gigantic, chimerical, puerile, or impracticable, the deſign itſelf may juſtly be conſidered; it is not the leſs true, that he meditated ſuch a ſyſtem. We may find every minute detail of it in Sully; even to particulars incredibly exact and trifling. Nay, we ſhall ſee that as early as 1601, he communicated his ideas and deſigns to Elizabeth, queen of England; who profeſſed at leaſt, to admire them, as ſome of the moſt ſublime conceptions of the human mind. But ſhe was too wiſe and too experienced, not to expreſs at the ſame time, her doubts of their practicability; chiefly on account of the difference of religion. She even undertook to make known Henry's plan to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and to obtain their co-operation. On her death in 1603, it ſeems that the king was for ſome time, in deſpair of ever atchieving ſo arduous a work; and that he ſo expreſſed himſelf to Roſny, with marks of the moſt lively concern. But, with the elaſticity natural to an ardent mind bent on a favourite

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If we reflect on the condition of the two branches of the Auſtrian family at this period, we ſhall be ſtill more inclined to admit that Henry's plan for their humiliation, was neither ideal, nor ſubject to any obvious diſarrangement of its parts. It is, in fact, difficult to ſay how ſo formidable a coalition, led on by the firſt prince in Europe, cemented by mutual intereſt, and ſupported with adequate military, as well as pecuniary reſources, could have been oppoſed with ſucceſs. Philip the Third and the duke of Lerma, were equally deſtitute of talents for meeting, as for turning aſide the ſhock; nor do they ſeem to have made any exertions for the purpoſe. Spain, depopulated by the recent expulſion of the Moors, was in want of every ſinew for active hoſtility; and the finances were in a deplorable ſtate of exhauſture and confuſion[48]. Albert and Iſabella, hopeleſs of iſſue, expoſed to the immediate attack of the French arms, and having only juſt extricated themſelves from a war with the Dutch; beheld

Inability of Spain to reſiſt the confederacy.

Weakneſs of Albert,

favourite point, he ſoon reſumed its proſecution. Roſny was ordered to ſound James the Firſt upon it, only four months after his acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. He did ſo; and though James appears, from his timidity, or his good ſenſe, to have ſtarted many objections, and to have wiſhed to temporize, and wait for a more proper juncture in which to reduce it to practice; yet, he agreed to the plan itſelf. Fourteen articles, comprehending the material points of the confederation of the "Republique Chretienne," were drawn up, and finally ſettled between James and Roſny.

Far from renouncing the project as impracticable, upon longer reflexion, Henry in 1609 ſeriouſly intended to undertake its completion. We may read in Sully, the inſtructions drawn up for Boiſſeſe, Freſne Canaye, Baugt, Ancel, and Bongars, who were ſent as envoys from France, to the different courts of Germany, Italy, and the North. They are very ample, and leave no room to doubt of the king's intention to effect it, if poſſible. The two grand objects of it ſeem to have been, firſt, to maintain peace and preponderance between all the Chriſtian ſtates; and ſecondly, to carry on a perpetual war againſt the Infidels. Voltaire, in his zeal for the memory and character of Henry the Fourth, has thought proper to treat this plan as a chimera, which never exiſted. But, his aſſertion certainly cannot be put in competition with Sully's authority. Mezeray admits the reality of the project, though he very rationally doubts, whether a king of fifty-ſix years old, and frequently troubled with the gout, could well flatter himſelf with bringing it to a concluſion. Henry would, it is probable, have agreed on that point with the hiſtorian; while he might ſtill have exerted himſelf to overcome the impediments. It is unneceſſary to ſay more on a ſubject, which can only amuſe the imagination, and which expired, like all his other vaſt intentions, with the life of its projector. See Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 378—385, and p. 390—400, and p. 401—426. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 407. Voltaire, Œuvres Complettes, vol. x. p. 221.

[48] Abregé Chron. d'Eſpagne, vol. ii. p. 464.

with

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with natural apprehenſion, the approach of a new and more powerful enemy. Rodolph the Second, oppreſſed by bodily infirmities; unſkilled in all the arts becoming a prince deſtined to reign over ſo many kingdoms and provinces; odious to his ſucceſſor Mathias, and deſpiſed by his ſubjects, could only be a ſpectator of the conteſt. Even the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria, was divided into two great and rival factions. Mathias, who already hoped to obtain the Imperial crown, as well as the hereditary poſſeſſions of his brother Rodolph, found a competitor in the arch-duke Ferdinand, ſon of Charles, who founded the Styrian line. Spain warmly eſpouſed the pretenſions of Ferdinand, which were on the point of arming the two princes againſt each other, and which it was highly probable, could only be decided by the ſword[49]. Every circumſtance leads us to ſuppoſe, that a vaſt revolution in the ſtate and ſyſtem of Europe, was on the point of taking place, and that it was only prevented by Henry's death.

1610. and of the emperor.

Diviſion in the Imperial family.

Meanwhile, the Proteſtant princes of the empire, and deputies from a number of the free imperial cities, alarmed at the ſeizure of Juliers by Leopold, met at the city of Hall in Swabia. Boiſſiſe, diſpatched by the king of France, appeared in the aſſembly, and gave aſſurances in his maſter's name, of vigorous ſupport, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would admit of putting himſelf at the head of his forces. Encouraged by the promiſe of ſo powerful an ally, the princes adopted reſolutions of energy, fixed the reſpective proportions of ſoldiers to be levied, and aſſigned funds for their ſubſiſtance. The elector Palatine Frederic the Fourth, was declared chief of the "Union," and the ſupreme command of the troops was conferred upon the prince of Anhalt. On the other hand, the three eccleſiaſtical electors, apprehenſive that the antient religion might be endangered, ſet on foot a counter aſſociation, for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, the German conſtitution, the

January. Aſſembly at Hall.

Reſolutions embraced in it.

[49] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 247—253. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 435—439, and p. 445, 446.

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Meeting at Wurtzburg.

poſſeſſions of the church, and their own liberties. The members met at the city of Wurtzburg in Franconia, aſſumed the name of "the League," and placed at its head the duke of Bavaria. They appear nevertheleſs, to have acted with far leſs deciſion than their antagoniſts, though they were openly ſupported by the emperor, and ſecretly aided by the cabinet of Spain [50].

Negotiations at Bruſſels.

During the courſe of the winter, the negotiations between the two courts of Paris and Bruſſels, relative to the prince of Condé, were never ſuſpended. D'Eſtrées, who had been diſpatched by Henry for that purpoſe, exerted all the arts of perſuaſion to diſpel his apprehenſions, and to induce him voluntarily to return into France. Albert and Iſabella profeſſed to leave him perfectly at liberty to follow the dictates of his own judgment and inclination. They even affected to adviſe his compliance with the king's wiſhes: but they ſtill refuſed to compel him to abandon the aſylum which he had embraced [51]. Unable to accompliſh by eloquence or addreſs, the object of his miſſion, d'Eſtrées had the audacity to project a ſcheme for carrying off the princeſs. She appears, herſelf, to have lent to it more than a negative approbation, and to have engaged to facilitate her own flight, or eſcape from the palace of the prince of Orange, in which ſhe reſided. The plan was diſcovered only a few hours previous to its intended execution; and the government, apprized of the enterprize, took efficacious meaſures for rendering it abortive. In order to prevent the repetition of ſimilar attempts, the young princeſs was removed to the archducal palace, and placed under the immediate protection of the infanta herſelf [52]. D'Eſtrées, fruſtrated in all his efforts, no longer obſerved any meaſures with the prince, whom he enjoined, in Henry's name, to repair to his preſence without delay,

Unſucceſsful attempt of d'Eſtrées.

February.

[50] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 249—251. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 442, 443. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 418—421. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 72—76. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 209—211.

[51] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 81, 82.

[52] Memor. recond. tome ii. p. 113. Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 248. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 411, 412.

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on pain of being treated as guilty of treaſon. Condé declined obedience to the order; but apprehenſive that a longer ſtay at Bruſſels might be dangerous to his ſafety, he quitted the city with a few attendants, paſſed through Germany in diſguiſe, and arrived ſafely at Milan. His wife remained in the ſafe-guard of Albert and Iſabella [53].

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Condé repairs to Milan.

31ſt March.

The count de Fuentes, governor of the Milaneſe, received the fugitive prince with demonſtrations of extraordinary reſpect; though he in fact took every precaution to ſecure the poſſeſſion of a perſon, who from his near alliance to the crown of France, might be made eminently ſubſervient to the purpoſes, or policy of the court of Madrid. Under pretence that the king had ſet a price of one hundred thouſand crowns upon Condé's head, Fuentes gave him a guard of horſe and foot; nor was he permitted to continue his journey to Rome, where he had deſigned to invoke the paternal interpoſition and mediation of Paul the Fifth. Previous to his departure from Flanders, he had ventured to diſperſe a manifeſto, highly reflecting on Henry's government, and peculiarly levelled at Sully, as the inventor of a number of oppreſſive and intolerable taxes. The indignation which it excited in the breaſt of the king, was augmented by the conſideration that Condé had ſought protection from the count de Fuentes, the implacable enemy of the French nation, and in particular, of the houſe of Bourbon. A ſecret negotiation was, nevertheleſs, begun through more than one channel, with the prince, the object of which was to effect his return and the oblivion of all paſt tranſactions. His ſituation at Milan neceſſarily impoſed obſtacles to its progreſs; and the aſſaſſination of Henry, which took place immediately afterwards, left its final event uncertain [54].

Conduct of Fuentes towards him.

April.

Manifeſto of the prince.

During theſe tranſactions, the preparations for opening the campaign advanced with the utmoſt expedition. A part of the troops

Preparations of Henry, for war.

[53] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 82. [54] Ibid. p. 82—86. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 412, 413.

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were already on their march towards the frontiers of Champagne, where the general point of union was fixed at Mouſon. A vaſt train of artillery followed the army; and the king wrote to the archduke Albert, to demand a paſſage for his forces through the Netherlands. It was determined to form a council of regency to adminiſter affairs, at the head of which ſhould be placed the queen. The magnitude of the military levies and equipments, left no room to doubt that an object more extenſive than the attack of Juliers, was in contemplation. The eyes of Europe were fixed with anxiety and intereſt on the iſſue of the enterprize; while Spain alone, againſt whom it was directed, remained in a ſtate of torpid ſecurity, or of inexplicable lethargy [55]. No meaſures were embraced, either in Flanders, or in Italy, for ſuſtaining the ſhock; and Albert, by a letter couched in terms of ſubmiſſion, addreſſed to Henry, but which did not arrive till after that monarch's deceaſe, allowed him to paſs without moleſtation, through his territories [56]. Notwithſtanding theſe proſperous appearances, a degree of ſilent fermentation pervaded the capital and the nation. The credulous and ſuperſtitious multitude had imbibed an impreſſion of the king's motives for commencing war, highly inimical to its ſucceſs. Reports were induſtriouſly circulated, that he was about to attack the pope; and the Papal nuncio at Paris, not acquainted with the ſecret views and intentions of his court, gave ſome countenance to the rumour [57]. The adherents of the "League" and of Spain, were buſy in defaming the conduct of Henry; and did not heſitate to aſſert, that the princeſs of Condé was another Helen, who would involve Europe in a general conflagration.

Fermentation in Paris,

and through France.

But, the moſt painful oppoſition to his deſigns, and interruption to his repoſe, originated in his own houſehold. Mary of Medecis

Diſſatisfaction of the queen.

[55] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 446, and p. 480. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 424.
[56] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 401. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 426.
[57] Cab. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 253. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 421, 422.

could

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could not behold without the natural ſenſations of an injured, or ſlighted woman, his continual acts of inconſtancy. She was content, indeed, to ſuffer his amours; but ſhe refuſed to aid, or in any meaſure to facilitate their gratification [58]. Her adherence to the Catholic religion, and to the houſe of Auſtria, induced her to regard with diſapprobation and concern, the approaching rupture, as well as the king's alliance with heretics. Conchini and his wife, by malignant and artful inſinuations, alienated the queen's affections from her huſband. They even carried their preſumption ſo far, as to infuſe into her mind apprehenſions, that he might be capable, from the extravagance of his paſſion for the princeſs of Condé, of repudiating Mary, and raiſing to the throne the object of his fondneſs [59]. Impelled by theſe ſuggeſtions, the queen ardently ſolicited of Henry, to permit that her coronation might be ſolemnly performed at St. Denis; and ſhe repreſented, that the public effect of ſuch a ceremony would render her perſon more ſacred, and her authority as regent, during his abſence from the kingdom, more venerable in the opinions of the people. The king objected with warmth to the propoſition, for a double reaſon; the delay, which muſt be unavoidably incident to the preparations for ſuch a ſolemnity; and the expence occaſioned by it at a time, when all his treaſures might be inadequate to the public demands. Vanquiſhed nevertheleſs by Mary's importunities, which he knew not how to reſiſt, he gave orders for its execution, and even haſtened all the requiſite decorations made for its celebration. It took place, with extraordinary pomp, in the abbey of St. Denis, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people; Henry himſelf aſſiſting as a ſpectator, and iſſuing the neceſſary directions during the ceremony. The public entry of the queen into Paris, was fixed for the fifteenth of the month; and almoſt immediately afterwards

Cauſes of it.

4th April. She demands to be crowned.

13th May. Her coronation.

[58] Memor. recond. tome ii. p. 260.

[59] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 425. Cab. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 258, 259.

the

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the king intended to mount on horſeback, in order to join his forces [60].

Agitation of Henry.

The French writers of that period, deeply impreſſed themſelves, at the atrocious nature, as well as at the lamentable effects of Henry's death, have deſcribed him previous to it, as haunted by continual apprehenſions of ſome imminent and inviſible danger. If we could credit their aſſertions, nature ſeemed to participate in the impending calamity; and even inanimate objects, trees, and rivers, foretold in myſtic language, his approaching fate. Mankind, in every age, has been prone to read the hiſtory of the great, through the medium of fancy, terror, and ſuperſtition; nor is it difficult with ſuch aſſiſtance, to transform the moſt common occurrences or accidents, into omens and prodigies. There is nevertheleſs a degree of ſcepticiſm, beyond that of reaſon, in refuſing altogether to believe, that Henry felt himſelf in a ſtate of unuſual agitation during ſeveral days preceding his aſſaſſination. It would ſeem, that he even burſt at times into querulous lamentations, or expreſſed himſelf in doubtful language, relative to his departure on the expedition to Germany [61]. But, theſe marks of a diſtempered, or uneaſy mind, may be naturally explained, without having recourſe to ſupernatural cauſes. The enterprize which he was on the point of commencing, however admirably planned, and however ſecure of apparent ſucceſs, was yet ſo vaſt, ſo complicated, and dependant on ſo many ſprings, that no human wiſdom could aſcertain its reſult.

Reaſons of it.

Domeſtic diſſentions.

Nor was he ignorant, that malevolence and bigotry had traduced his motives for taking up arms. In the interior of his family, the jealouſy of the queen, the inſolence of Conchini, and the dangerous aſcendancy

[60] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 86—88. Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 260, 261. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 215—217, and p. 218—224. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 476, and p. 481. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 426, 427. Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 186, 187.

[61] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome ii. p. 185—188. Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 476—479. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 427—431.

which

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which he and his wife Leonora had gained over Mary of Medecis, embittered his preſent happineſs, and filled him with anxious apprehenſions for futurity. The firſt prince of the blood was in the hands of Fuentes, the mortal enemy of Henry; and the princeſs, whoſe attractions had been ſo injurious to his repoſe, was detained at Bruſſels. Above all, he knew that the genius of the time was prone to acts of violence and ferocity: he had even received intimation of attempts againſt his perſon, from various quarters; and horoſcopes, to which a conſiderable degree of involuntary belief was then given by the moſt enlightened men, had fixed his death in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age[62]. We muſt not imagine that Henry the Fourth was free from human infirmity, credulity, and weakneſs. Brave in the field, even to intrepidity, and accuſtomed to regard death in the ranks of war, with perfect compoſure; he was equally acceſſible to fear, with other men. Even Sully admits, that a prince ſo dauntleſs in battle, was leſs than a woman when in a coach; that he cried out, whenever it appeared likely to overturn, and betrayed the utmoſt timidity. Henry himſelf avowed the fact, and accounted for it by informing his miniſter, that it had been predicted he ſhould die in a coach[63]. When we reflect on all theſe circumſtances, it cannot excite our wonder, that he exhibited ſymptoms of a mind oppreſſed, irreſolute, and ſtruggling with depreſſion.

Credulity of the age.

A beautiful, and celebrated writer of the preſent century, has juſtly obſerved, that "in the death of Henry the Fourth, the fatality or "force of deſtiny ſeems to be more felt, than in any other event of "hiſtory[64]." That his predeceſſor, occupied in beſieging Paris, in a time of rebellion, when the minds of the French people were heated to a degree of delirium, ſhould be immolated by a fanatic monk, in

[62] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 430. D'Aubig. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 544. Tavannes, p. 279.

[63] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 477. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 434.

[64] Voltaire, Œuvr. compl. vol. x. p. 227.

order

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order to reſcue his party from impending deſtruction; appears natural, however execrable. But, after the lapſe of more than a hundred and eighty years, we have every reaſon to believe, that the deſign of aſſaſſinating Henry the Fourth, was conceived in ſilence by an ignorant enthuſiaſt of the loweſt deſcription, confirmed by reflexion, and executed without an accomplice of any kind [65]. Francis Ravaillac, a native of Angouleme, and the perpetrator of ſo deteſtable a deed, had ſerved his noviciate in a monaſtic order, and afterwards procured a ſcanty ſubſiſtance, by following the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter, in his native city. His abhorrence of the profeſſors of the reformed religion roſe to fury, and inſpired him with ideas of the moſt ſanguinary kind, againſt heretics. Imbued with an opinion that the king gave, at leaſt a ſecret and indirect protection to that claſs of his ſubjects, and that he was about to make war on the pope, Ravaillac formed the reſolution of reaſoning with him; and if he ſhould find Henry incorrigible in error, of aſſaſſinating him as the enemy of God [66]. Repulſed with blows by the guards, in an attempt to approach the king when in his coach, he returned to Angouleme; but while performing his devotions before an image of Chriſt ſuffering flagellation, in the ſuburbs of the town of Eſtampes, he felt the purpoſe regenerate in his boſom. Purſued by the deſire of perpetrating it, he whetted his knife anew, the point of which he had previouſly broken; took the road again to Paris, and waited for an occaſion to accompliſh the deed [67].

Ravaillac. His origin.

Motives, which induced him to ſtab the king.

14th May. Circumſtances of Henry's aſſaſſination.

On the morning of the day when Henry periſhed, he had been engaged in giving directions reſpecting his expedition, and in accelerating all the neceſſary preparations for his departure. After having dined, he lay down, with intent to take ſome repoſe: but un-

[65] Tavannes, p. 279.

[66] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 102, 103. Procés de Ravaillac, cited by Voltaire, vol. x. p. 227, 228.

[67] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 104, 105. Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 239. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 431—433. Voltaire, ibid. p. 221—229.

able

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able to ſleep, he roſe, paſſed ſome moments in fervent prayer, and walked for a conſiderable time in his apartment, uneaſy and melancholy. To divert his chagrin, he determined to viſit Sully, at the arſenal; and for that purpoſe commanded his coach to be prepared. When it was ready, he diſpatched Vitry, captain of his guards, to haſten the workmen employed in decorating the courts of law, for the queen's entry; and ordered the guards themſelves to remain at the Louvre. No leſs a number than ſeven noblemen were in the carriage with him, among whom were the dukes of Epernon and Montbazon. The curtains of the coach were drawn up, not only on account of the beauty and warmth of the weather; but, in order to enable the king to ſee the preparations making for the approaching ceremony. Two carts, one laden with wine, and the other with hay, having impeded the paſſage in a narrow ſtreet, the greater number of the domeſtics in attendance quitted the royal coach, with intent to rejoin it beyond the carts. Two only remained, one of whom advanced forwards, to clear the way; and the other was buſied in adjuſting a part of his dreſs. At this preciſe moment, Ravaillac, who during the embarraſſment, had been able, unnoticed, to remark in what part of the carriage Henry was ſeated, mounted on one of the hind wheels, and drawing his knife, ſtruck the king on the left breaſt. The inſtrument glanced on one of his ribs, without entering his body; but the aſſaſſin, perfectly collected in himſelf, repeated the blow. At the ſecond ſtroke, the knife entered his heart, and interſected it with ſuch violence, that the blood ruſhing impetuouſly upwards, ſuffocated him on the inſtant, before he could utter a ſingle word [68].

He is carried back to the Louvre.

No ſooner had the fatal accident taken place, than the noblemen preſent having quitted the carriage with precipitation, cauſed the cur-

[68] Hiſt. d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 319—321. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 225, 226. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 88, 89. D'Aubig. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 544, 545. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 433, 434. Tavannes, p. 279.

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tains to be lowered, and ordered it to return to the Louvre. A cloak was thrown over the king, to conceal him from ſight; and more effectually to deceive the people, a ſurgeon and wine were demanded, as if he had been only wounded; though ſuch was the violent effuſion of blood, that the whole ſtreet was ſtained with it, as he was carried back to the palace [69]. Epernon, nevertheleſs, whoſe preſence of mind ſeems never to have forſaken him, having perceived among the attendants, the marquis of Montferrand, diſpatched him inſtantly forward, to order the troops on guard at the Louvre, to ſtand to their arms, for the protection of the queen and Dauphin [70]. A few moments afterwards, the body of the unfortunate Henry arriving, was taken out, carried up ſtairs, and laid, all bloody, on the ſame bed, where he had ſo recently ſought in vain for repoſe. It remained in that ſituation during ſeveral hours, expoſed to the view of thoſe, whoſe curioſity or attachment to their deceaſed maſter, induced them to pay him the tribute of a laſt farewel [71].

Meaſures of the queen, for ſecuring the regency.

Mary of Medecis, after ſome exclamations of grief at the untimely fate of her huſband, appears to have eaſily ſuſpended the courſe of her tears, in order to take ſuch meaſures for her own ſafety and the attainment of the regency, as the urgency of the occaſion demanded. They were at once ſo able and ſo rapid, that hiſtorians obſerve, not without reaſon, they could never have been better concerted or executed, even if the event of the king's aſſaſſination had been foreſeen [72]. All the avenues leading to the convent of the Auguſtins, where the parliament of Paris then held its meetings, were occupied by various detachments of troops; and as that aſſembly was actually ſitting, at the preciſe time when the king was aſſaſſinated, Mary commanded them by a meſſage notifying the cataſtrophé, inſtantly to deliberate on the queſtion of delegating to her the regency. They obeyed; and Epernon, in order to

The parliament deliberates,

[69] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 227. D'Aub. vol. iii. p. 545.

[70] Hiſt. d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 322, 323.

[71] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 189. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 435.

[72] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 91.

acce-

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accelerate their reſolution, entered the hall where they were met, his ſword undrawn in his hand. In the queen's name, he beſought the preſident to notify their determination, which was expected with the utmoſt impatience at the Louvre. The parliament, thus inveſted by an armed force, and propelled by Epernon, did not long heſitate in conferring on Mary the regency. We can never ſufficiently wonder at the rapidity of theſe events. Henry was in perfect health at four o'clock in the afternoon; and by half an hour paſt ſix o'clock of the ſame day, however incredible the fact, his widow was declared regent, by the parliament. Hiſtory preſents no ſimilar inſtance of ſo ſudden a transfer of the ſupreme power, in virtue of the deliberations of a legiſlative body [73].

and declares her regent.

If any other fact of that extraordinary day can excite our equal aſtoniſhment, it is that not one of ſeven individuals who were in the coach with the king, ſhould either have ſeen Ravaillac mount on the wheel, or have been able to interpoſe in time to ſave their ſovereign. That cool and intrepid aſſaſſin continued to repeat his blows, even after he had given the mortal wound. In the tumult and conſternation which enſued, it is believed that he might eaſily have effected his eſcape: but incapable of flight, and glorying in his crime, he remained motionleſs on the ſpot, holding in his hand the bloody inſtrument with which he had perpetrated the deed. On being queſtioned, he readily avowed the act, as meritorious. The fury of the attendants would have immediately ſacrificed him, and ſwords were already drawn for the purpoſe: but Epernon, and the other noblemen preſent, mindful of the reflections caſt upon thoſe who had haſtily put to death Clement, the aſſaſſin of Henry the Third, arreſted the rage of the ſpectators, and of the populace. Ravaillac was conducted by ſome of the guards, to the palace of Retz,

Seizure of Ravaillac.

His impriſonment.

[73] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 91—94. Journ. vol. i. tome i. p. 191, 192. Hiſt. d'Epernon, d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 227—231. Baſſomp. vol. ii. p. 330—345.

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near the Louvre, where he remained during two days; and was from thence transferred to the "Conciergerie," previous to his interrogatory and trial [74].

Character of Henry the Fourth.

The province of the hiſtorian may be ſaid in ſome meaſure to ſtop, with the narration of the circumſtances attending the death of Henry the Fourth. His character ſtands little in need of elucidation, and leſs of panegyric. Whether we conſider him as the conqueror of France, or whether we contemplate him in the more amiable light of the legiſlator and benefactor of his people, he equally excites our admiration. All the great qualities, which during many years of adverſity, were exhibited by the king of Navarre, acquired new luſtre, and attained to full maturity, on the throne of France. It may be reaſonably doubted, whether in any age of the world, a prince has appeared among men, who united in himſelf more ſublime endowments of every kind. We muſt neceſſarily regret, but we cannot deny, that they were obſcured by material faults and weakneſſes. His licentious amours ſubverted his private felicity, produced public calamity, and were equally contrary to decency, morality, and religion. Nor was his paſſion for play leſs violent, though its effects, as confined to himſelf, were leſs injurious. We may ſee in Sully, and in Baſſompierre, how much the rage of gaming, encouraged by his example, pervaded the capital and the court. His deſire of amaſſing treaſures, though it did not originate in avarice, yet induced him to encourage his miniſters, particularly Sully, in exacting from his ſubjects, contributions beyond their ſtrength. The inſtitution of the "Paulette," which was a tax on the vacancy, or reſignation of all legal employments, excited general murmurs, and was productive of the moſt ſcandalous venality in the department of the law [75].

His defects, and faults.

Oppreſſive taxes.

[74] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 238. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 89, 90. Hiſt. d'Epernon, vol. ii. p. 321, 322. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 434, 435.

[75] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 310—314.

It

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It excites aſtoniſhment to reflect, that in the ſpace of only nine years, from the peace with Savoy to his death, he was able to extinguiſh almoſt all the domeſtic and foreign incumbrances of the crown, which were immenſe; and to lay up in the Baſtile above a million ſterling. So large a ſum in ſpecie, could not have been taken out of the national circulation, without great injury to commercial tranſactions. He was accuſed, probably with reaſon, of yielding from his facility, to importunity, the rewards which ought only to have been extended to merit, talents, and virtue. Like all princes who have been extricated by the efforts of a party, from a ſtate of adverſity and depreſſion, the imputation of ingratitude was laid to his charge. It was ſaid that he forgot, and neglected his antient adherents, in order to enrich and elevate his enemies. But it muſt be remembered, that he was compelled to purchaſe the ſubmiſſion of the heads of the League; and we may doubt whether either his courage, his clemency, or his abjuration of the reformed religion would have extinguiſhed that powerful faction, without the aid of money. Thoſe who ſeverely ſcrutinized his actions, aſſerted, that he winked and connived at acts of injuſtice in the tribunals of law; where the judges found complete impunity, provided that in return, they manifeſted a blind and implicit obedience to his edicts. There is, nevertheleſs, at leaſt as much malignity as truth, in the accuſation.

His facility.

Accuſations of ingratitude,

and of injuſtice.

If from his defects, we turn our eyes to his virtues, we ſhall love and venerate his memory. His very name is almoſt become proverbial, to expreſs the union of all that is elevated, amiable, and good in human nature. Such was his diſdain of injuries, that it reached to heroiſm. The duke of Mayenne became his friend; and the young duke of Guiſe profeſſed, and felt for him, the warmeſt degree of affectionate devotion [76]. We know, that he expreſsly ordered Vitry to receive into the company of body guards, the ſoldier who had wounded him with a ball, at the combat of Aumale.

His virtues.

Magnanimity, and forgiveneſs of injuries.

[76] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 187, 188.

Henry

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Henry pointed him out to marſhal D'Eſtrées, as the man mounted guard at the door of his coach [77]. In the ſingle inſtance of Biron, he remained inexorable; but it ought not to be forgotten, that Biron was at once guilty and obdurate. Henry neither put him to death from perſonal reſentment, nor from mere conſiderations of ſtate policy. The laſt neceſſity alone induced him to refuſe pardon to a man, who aſpired to independance; and whoſe projects were levelled at the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Bourbon, as well as at the ſafety of the monarchy of France itſelf. Nothing can more ſtrongly atteſt the fact, nor prove the repugnance with which he abandoned Biron to the ſword of the law, than his anſwer to the noblemen who ſued for the forgiveneſs of that criminal [78].

Love for his ſubjects.

His affection towards the inferior claſſes of his ſubjects, and in particular towards the peaſants, whom he cheriſhed and protected, as the moſt neceſſary, but the moſt oppreſſed and injured deſcription of his people; drew upon him the benedictions of the age in which he lived, and endears him to poſterity. He was neither ignorant, nor did he affect ſo to be, that he merited univerſal eſteem. The ſentiment involuntarily burſt from him on various occaſions. Only a few hours before he was aſſaſſinated, upon the morning of that day, as if by a ſecret warning of his deſtiny, he ſaid to the duke of Guiſe, and to Baſſompierre; "You do not know me now; but I ſhall die one of "theſe days; and when you have loſt me, you will know my worth, "and the difference between me and other men [79]." "The kings, "my predeceſſors," ſaid he on another occaſion, addreſſing himſelf to the deputies of the clergy, "have given you ſplendid words; "but, I, with my grey jacket, will give you effects. I am all grey "without; but, all gold within [80]."

Expreſſions of his ſelf-eſteem.

Protection of letters.

Educated in the field, and accuſtomed to fatigue, he delighted little in purſuits of literature; but he was neither unacquainted with

[77] Amours d'Henry IV. Receuil, p. 7, 8.
[78] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 70, 71.
[79] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 187, 188.
[80] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 198.

polite letters, nor deficient in extending a liberal protection to men of genius. Du Perron, Matthieu, Scaliger, Caſaubon, Sponde, and a number of other eminent writers, received penſions from the treaſury, or were raiſed by Henry to eminent honors and dignities [81]. The love of glory, and the deſire of honorable fame, as diſtinct from, and as oppoſed to that paſſion which we commonly denominate ambition, was the predominant feature of his character. Louis the Fourteenth was perpetually and ſyſtematically occupied during his long reign, in acts of wanton and unjuſt rapacity, in order to extend the frontiers of his dominions. Henry, on the contrary, propoſed to become the arbiter of Europe, by his magnanimous moderation. We ſee in the Memoirs of Sully, that he did not reſerve a foot of land to augment France, from the conqueſts to be made by that vaſt confederacy, which he was on the point of putting into action, when aſſaſſinated. Artois, and French Flanders were to have been diſtributed in fiefs, to various individuals. Alſace, and the county of Burgundy, were deſtined for the Switzers. Rouſillon and Cerdagne were left to Spain [82]. All theſe provinces were gained by Richlieu, or by Louis the Fourteenth. It is true that he projected to acquire Lorrain, and the duchy of Savoy; but the former was in virtue of the marriage of the Dauphin to a princeſs of Lorrain: the latter was only contingent, and in the event of Charles Emanuel remaining peaceable poſſeſſor of the Milaneſe [83].

Love of glory.

Moderation.

If we would behold the portrait of Henry drawn by himſelf, we may ſee it in one of his letters to the ſame miniſter, Sully. It cannot be peruſed without emotions of pleaſure. "Whenever," writes he, "the "occaſion ſhall preſent itſelf for executing thoſe glorious deſigns, which "you well know that I have long projected, you ſhall find that I will "rather quit my miſtreſſes, hounds, gaming, buildings, banquets, and "every other recreation, than let paſs the opportunity of acquiring

Portrait of the king, drawn by himſelf.

[81] Amours d'Henry IV., Receuil, p. 24—26. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 395.
[82] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 460, 461. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 407.
[83] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 79.

"honor;

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"honor; the principal ſources of which, after my duty to God, "my wife, my children, my ſervants, and my people, whom I love as "my children, are, to attain the reputation of a prince tenacious of his "faith and word; and to perform actions at the end of my days, "which ſhall immortalize and crown them with glory and honor[84]."

He was not beloved during his life.

It is nevertheleſs, an incontrovertible, though a melancholy fact, that he was neither known nor beloved during his life, as he deſerved. The intimate acquaintance which his contemporaries had with his infirmities and defects; together with the implacable animoſity of the inveterate adherents of Spain and of the "League," traduced his character, and aggravated all his faults. But time, the teſt of truth, has fully unveiled him to mankind; and after the lapſe of near two centuries, poſterity has juſtly aſſigned him one of the higheſt places among thoſe, whom Providence in its bounty ſometimes raiſes up, for the felicity and ornament of the human race.

[84] Sully, vol. ii. tome iii. p. 138, 139, letter of the "8th April, 1607."

THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE.

The Age of HENRY THE FOURTH.

CHAP. I.

Nature and extent of the royal authority.—Powers, and privileges of the parliaments.—Finances.—Adminiſtration of Sully.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Oppreſſion of the inferior orders.—Funds.—Coin.—Nature of military ſervice.—Change, introduced under Henry the Fourth.—Improvements, made in the art of war.—Superiority of the Spaniſh troops.—Commerce.—Colonization.—Canals.—Manufactures.—Enlargement of Henry's views.—Condition of the peaſants.—State of Paris.—Augmentation, and embelliſhment of the capital.—Police.—Effect of the civil wars, in enriching France.

CHAP. I.

Abſolute power, exerciſed by Henry the Fourth.

THE genius of the French government under Henry the Fourth, was not the leſs abſolute, becauſe, like that of Trajan in antiquity, it was directed by wiſdom, and tempered by benignity. Henry, in ſucceeding to the throne of his predeceſſors, manifeſted through-

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throughout his whole life, that he had likewiſe inherited all their claims and prerogatives. Inſtructed by the experience of the preceding reign, and attentive to the example ſet him by Francis the Firſt; he never once aſſembled the States General, in the courſe of near twenty-one years. Tenacious of his authority, he carefully avoided every experiment, which might ſubject it to diſcuſſion, or compromiſe its independance. If, preſſed by neceſſity, ſurrounded by enemies, and deſtitute of reſources for maintaining his troops, he ever had recourſe to other means than the powers inherent in the crown; he well knew how to limit, direct, and extinguiſh ſuch temporary interference. When, towards the cloſe of the year 1596, he convoked an aſſembly at Rouen, for the purpoſe of impoſing new taxes on the people; we may ſee in every ſtep, that he only conſidered it as the agent of his will, and as the inſtrument of his pleaſure. He took care, by the materials of its formation, by the limitation of its numbers, and by every precaution of a vigilant policy, to ſecure himſelf from thoſe encroachments, to which Henry the Third had been compelled to ſubmit, when he aſſembled the States General of France. That of the "Notables" in 1596, was of a much more harmleſs and tractable nature. Neither the nobility, nor the general maſs of the nation, were in fact either preſent in, or repreſented by the delegates ſelected. We may ſee in Sully, that the members compoſing it, were principally taken out of the church, the magiſtracy, or the finance; and conſequently, that they were as little open to the intrigues of faction, as they were likely to hazard the royal diſpleaſure, by any uncourtly or inflexible adherence to the excluſive intereſts of the people [a].

Aſſembly, at Rouen.

Henry's conduct towards them.

It is curious to conſider the principal features of Henry's conduct, on the only occaſion when he may be ſaid to have met the ſhadow of a popular aſſembly. He opened the meeting by a ſpeech, calculated

[a] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 339. D'Aubig. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 582.

to

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to make the deepeſt impreſſion on his audience, from the affectionate ſentiments of paternal ſolicitude for the welfare of his ſubjects, with which it was replete. In ſome of his expreſſions, he ſeemed to renounce every prerogative inimical to freedom of debate, or to general liberty. "I have not called you together," ſaid he, "as my "predeceſſors were uſed, merely to approve of my orders; but on "the contrary, to receive your advice, to believe it, and to follow it: "in a word, to put myſelf, as a ward, into your hands; a diſpoſi- "tion not cuſtomary in kings, in grey beards, and in conquerors [2]." How little real meaning, nevertheleſs, was contained under theſe ſplendid profeſſions, we learn from a contemporary writer. Henry having demanded of Gabrielle d'Etrées, his miſtreſs, who had been preſent, concealed behind a piece of tapeſtry, at the ceremony, what ſhe thought of his harangue; Gabrielle anſwered, that it appeared to her perfect, except in one paſſage, where he had talked of putting himſelf in wardſhip. "Ventre ſaint gris," exclaimed the king, "it is true; but I mean, with my ſword by my ſide [3]." His ſpeech.

Such was the ſpirit of acquieſcence and ſubmiſſion which animated the "Notables," that Henry expreſſed no repugnance at their preſuming to touch one of the moſt ſacred branches of executive government, the expenditure of the public money. He even allowed them to amuſe themſelves, and to delude the people, by fabricating ſpeculative plans of finance; and by forming a diviſion of the revenue between the wants of the ſovereign, and thoſe of the ſtate: or, in modern language, inſtituting a fund for the king's civil liſt and houſehold. Inſtructed by Roſny, he ſoon entangled theſe ignorant financiers in the web of their own machinations, and compelled them to renounce any attempts of a ſimilar kind, in future. When the aſſembly had fulfilled its intention, by impoſing a new contribution of a ſous, or halfpenny in the livre, upon all articles of conſumption or merchandize, Tractability of the "Notables."

[2] Chron. Novenn. vol. i. p. 629. [3] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 145, 146.

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Diſſolution of the aſſembly.

without exception, the king transferred the meeting to Paris; where they may be ſaid to have diſſolved in their own weakneſs. So total was the oblivion into which they ſunk, that the preciſe time of their extinction or diſſolution, is not marked in any of the contemporary writers [4].

Henry's treatment of the parliament of Paris,

Towards the parliaments, and peculiarly towards that of Paris, the firſt in dignity and conſideration, Henry manifeſted on numerous occaſions, how much he conſidered them as only the organ of his commands. He mitigated, it is true, the ſeverity of his orders, by adopting the language of requeſt; but if any remonſtrance or delay was interpoſed, he ſpeedily aſſumed a tone of authority. In

on the edict of Nantes.

1599, when an oppoſition aroſe in the parliament of Paris, to verifying the celebrated edict of Nantes given in the preceding year, and under which the Proteſtants for near a century, enjoyed toleration; the king commanded the attendance of the members, in his cloſet. "You ſee me here in my cabinet," ſaid he to them, "where I ad-"dreſs myſelf to you, not as the kings my predeceſſors were uſed, "in royal robes, and in a habit of ceremony; nor as a prince who "gives audience to embaſſadors; but dreſſed in my ordinary cloaths, "as a father of a family, who would converſe with his children." He then conjured them to regiſter, and publiſh the edict: he even condeſcended to prove its utility, juſtice, and neceſſity, by many cogent arguments. Changing nevertheleſs his language, when he ſaw occaſion to mingle threats with his perſuaſions; "I know," added he,

His menaces.

"that there have been parties in the parliament, and that ſeditious "preachers have been excited: I will put good order to thoſe "people, without waiting for it from you."—"I will ſhorten by "the head all ſuch as venture to foment faction: I have leaped over "the walls of cities: I ſhall not be terrified by barricades."—"I have made the edict: let it be obſerved. My will ſhould ſtand

[4] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 338—342. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 18—25.

"in

"in the place of reaſon: it ought to be executed, not interpreted. "I am king; as ſuch I now ſpeak, and will be obeyed[5]." It muſt be owned, that if this be not the tone of deſpotiſm, it is difficult to ſay what can be ſo denominated. The parliament retired, obeyed, and verified the edict.

His power, in impoſing taxes.

Nor was the power of the crown leſs arbitrary over the property of the people, than in enacting regulations of civil, or religious policy. When Henry undertook to retake Amiens from the Spaniards in 1597, he iſſued ſeveral edicts, impoſing taxes of ſo ſevere a nature, that the parliament of Paris refuſed to regiſter them; and they waited on the king in a body, to offer him their reaſons for ſuch a conduct. He received them in his bed; but far from yielding to their remonſtrances, he treated them with injurious language; and even ſo far forgot his own dignity, and the reſpect due to the preſident whom he addreſſed, as to give the lye to that magiſtrate. On their perſiſting for near four weeks, in their oppoſition, he repaired in perſon to the hall where they held their deliberations; harangued them with brevity; and ordered them inſtantly to regiſter the pecuniary edicts in queſtion. His preſence, and the public neceſſity of the time, extinguiſhed all further reſiſtance, and procured their publication[6].

Compulſory modes of exacting money.

Every violent and oppreſſive mode of taxing, or rather, of plundering the people, practiſed under the reign of Henry the Third, was repeated by his ſucceſſor; but the difference of the circumſtances in which the two princes exerted the ſame acts of power, totally altered their effect. Minions, courtiers, and all the vermin of a profligate and licentious palace, devoured by anticipation, the produce of the accumulated taxes, under the laſt king of the houſe of Valois. Henry the Fourth expended with frugality, in defence of the nation, the ſums which he, reluctantly, exacted. In both caſes, the prerogative ſtood in the place of law, and ſurmounted

[5] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 375—379. Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 206, 207. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 210—213.

[6] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 162—165.

every

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Loans.

every attempt made for its limitation. Compulſory loans were enforced in 1597, during the ſiege of Amiens. The king ſent to all the principal members of the parliament, as well as to the individuals reputed moſt wealthy, throughout the capital; and demanded of them ſums, proportioned to their ſuppoſed ability. They complied; but we do not preciſely know what was the amount of the money thus borrowed, or extorted [7]. Even the rents, or annuities iſſuing out of the town-hall, from which many of the wealthy Pariſians derived their principal means of ſubſiſtence, and which had always been conſidered as a ſort of ſacred property; were not exempted. In December, 1596, we find the king coming expreſsly to Paris, for the purpoſe of ſeizing on ſo inconſiderable a ſum as four thouſand crowns. He went in perſon to the town-houſe, made a ſhort ſpeech, ordered a citizen, named Carel, who had only preſumed to draw up a petition in favor of the proprietors or annuitants, to be ſent priſoner to St. Germain; and menaced with the Baſtile, the firſt man who ſhould preſume to hold ſeditious language on the ſubject [8]. Nothing can more forcibly diſplay, at once the neceſſities, and the power of the crown. The people murmured, but did not venture to reſiſt the royal will. Enquiries into the malverſations of the financiers; and the creation of new, or ſupernumerary and uſeleſs offices in the courts of juſtice, or in the collection of the revenues; were, as in the preceding reign, two common and ruinous modes, of repleniſhing the treaſury [9].

Rents of the town-hall,

Seized by the king.

Power, arrogated by the parliaments.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſevere and oppreſſive acts of prerogative, the parliaments, and in an eſpecial manner, that of Paris; independant of their juriſdiction, as courts of civil and criminal law, enjoyed and exerciſed no inconſiderable portion of legiſlative, or political power. In every period when the royal authority was either

[7] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 166.
[8] Ibid. p. 147.
[9] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 216. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 137, 138. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 165, 166; and vol. ii. p. 200, 201. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324, and p. 553, 554.

ſuſpended

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ſuſpended by rebellion, or extinguiſhed by death, they arrogated, and their title was recognized, the legitimate right of naming regents, or lieutenants of the crown. The declaration of the council of union, in 1589, conſtituting the cardinal of Bourbon king, by the name of Charles the Tenth, and appointing the duke of Mayenne his vice gerent, as head of the League; was not ſtamped with authenticity, till publiſhed by the parliament [10]. In like manner, cardinal Cajetan, the legate of Sixtus the Fifth, in 1590, preſented his credentials to the ſame body, on his arrival at Paris, as to the only conſtitutional repreſentatives of the French nation [11]. To their magnanimous and patriotic exertions in 1593, was in a great degree, due the preſervation of the crown in the family of Bourbon, and the final extinction of every project for transferring it to the infanta of Spain. We cannot peruſe without emotions of pleaſure and admiration, the remonſtrance, preſented on the occaſion to the duke of Mayenne; which breathes the generous ſpirit of the beſt ages of the Roman ſenate. Unſubdued by the threats of the duke, who prepared to annul their decree for preſerving the inviolability of the Salic law, and the ſucceſſion in a native, Catholic prince; the members ſwore to maintain its obſervance, at the hazard of their lives [12]. In the following year, they ventured even on meaſures ſtill more deciſive, and peremptorily enjoined the Spaniſh garriſon to quit the capital [13].

Extending over the ſucceſſion to the crown.

The parliament of Paris aſſumed, as a collective body, the titles of "tutors of the kingdom, and fathers of the people, interpoſed between the crown and the ſubject [14]." Nor were theſe epithets merely nominal, or deſtitute of ſolid foundation and efficacy. If on ſome occaſions, they were unable to extend protection, they ap-

Titles, aſſumed by the parliament.

[10] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 6.
[11] Ibid. p. 10.
[12] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 780—787. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 268—271. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 173—175.
[13] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 298—301.
[14] Satyre Menip. vol. iii. p. 546.

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pear rarely to have been deficient in endeavours for the purpoſe. Againſt the inſolent encroachments of the eccleſiaſtical order, all the parliaments ſeem to have exerted equal vigilance and reſiſtance. It would be eaſy to cite numerous examples under the reign of Henry the Fourth, in which they oppoſed at once the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious age, and the immunities of a privileged claſs of men [15]. When the biſhop of Senlis, in 1598, unreſtrained by gratitude for the pardon of his paſt rebellion, preſumed to hold language ſubverſive of all obedience to the ſovereign, the parliament compelled him to appear in the hall appropriated to their meetings; there, bareheaded, to retract his tenets, as deteſtable and impious. He was moreover, fined in the ſum of fifty crowns, and interdicted from preaching during a limited time. The biſhop, from a reliance on the ſanctity of his epiſcopal character, having preſumed to preſent himſelf in the ſacerdotal dreſs and ornaments; the parliament, indignant at his conduct, cauſed him to be ignominiouſly ſtripped by one of the uſhers [16]. In 1602, they acted with equal firmneſs towards the biſhop of Angers, who had infringed the eſtabliſhed rights of the eccleſiaſtics of his dioceſe, and attempted innovations of a dangerous nature [17]. The parliament of Bourdeaux, nearly at the ſame period, maintained no leſs vigoruouſly, their own rights, and thoſe of the people, againſt the cardinal of Sourdis, archbiſhop of that city [18].

Their oppoſition to the clergy.

Inſtances of it.

Such was the jealous vigilance of the parliament of Paris, to prevent any defalcation of its juſt authority, that it ſeems never to have relaxed, even on the moſt unimportant articles. Henry having, in 1602, in order to ſtop the rage of duelling, inſtituted a tribunal, to which conteſts between gentlemen might be referred, and which court was compoſed of the conſtable and marſhals of France; it only obtained the ſanction of the parliament, with a ſpecific reſerva-

Jealouſy, and vigilance of that body.

[15] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 480—490; and vol. xiii. p. 29, 30.

[16] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tom. ii. p. 196.

[17] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 119—123.

[18] Ibid. p. 113—116.

tion,

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tion, that the cauſes amenable to its juriſdiction, ſhould be limited rigorouſly to matters of honor and punctilio [19]. In many of the decrees, or regulations iſſued by the parliament, it is not eaſy to diſcriminate accurately its legiſlative, from its judicial functions. They are even ſometimes mingled in ſo intricate a manner, as to leave it doubtful, whether they ſhould be conſidered as the deciſions of a court of civil and criminal law, or as the inſtitutions of a deliberative political aſſembly.

Confuſion of their legiſlative, and judicial functions.

The finances of France under Henry the Fourth, form one of the moſt intereſting and inſtructive objects of hiſtorical attention and diſcuſſion. In the annals of modern nations, there have been few, if any examples, of a country reſcued by a ſyſtematic purſuit of wiſe and œconomical meaſures, from ſo profound an abyſs of debt. At his acceſſion, the king might be ſaid to poſſeſs neither domain, nor revenues: both were anticipated and mortgaged by the thoughtleſs facility, or profuſion of his predeceſſor. The army was retained under the ſtandard, avowedly by the hope of plunder, and neither received, nor expected pay. Bread alone was diſtributed among the French ſoldiery, every day; and the foreign troops were defrayed by pecuniary contributions, levied expreſsly for their ſubſiſtance, from the captured towns [20]. The perſonal neceſſities of the king himſelf were ſuch, as to reduce him to adopt the moſt humiliating meaſures, in order to ſatisfy his wants. D'Aubigné declares, that in September 1590, Henry, then at the head of his forces, and oppoſed to the duke of Parma, "having been without bread for his own table, "went to beg a dinner at that of the ſuperintendant of his finances, "the marquis D'O; where he found three diſhes delicately dreſſed. "The company reluctantly made room for him, and his attend-"ants [21]." Four years afterwards, during the ſiege of Laön, his neceſſities were, if poſſible, ſtill greater [22].

Finances.

Their ruined ſtate.

Poverty of the king.

[19] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 110.
[20] Ibid. vol. xi. p. 69. Davila, p. 821. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 335.
[21] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 241.
[22] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 37.

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It was not till after the treaty of Vervins in 1598, that he began to taſte any of the enjoyments commonly annexed to his ſtation. If we would peruſe the moſt eloquent, though ſimple narration of his diſtreſs in 1596, we have it under his own hand. In a letter to Roſny, dated on the fifteenth of April in that year, when he was ready to open the campaign againſt the Spaniards; he ſays, "I wiſh to acquaint you with the ſtate to which I am reduced: it is ſuch, that though almoſt in preſence of the enemy, I have neither a horſe on which I can engage, nor a coat of armor that I can wear. My ſhirts are all torn, my doublets in holes at the elbow; and even my very kitchen utenſils are overturned. For theſe laſt two days, I dine and ſup with one and another; my ſtewards aſſuring me that they have no longer the means of providing my table, as they have not received any money for above ſix months. Judge, if I deſerve to be thus treated, and if I ought any longer to ſuffer that my financiers and treaſurers make me die of hunger, while their own tables are ſerved with every delicacy[23]." Charles the Second, after his flight from Worceſter, ſcarcely was reduced to greater extremities during his exile, when ſoliciting the bounty of Mazarin, and of Don Louis de Haro. From the camp before Amiens, in the ſubſequent year, Henry writes again to the ſame miniſter. "The officers will no longer ſerve, for want of money: give ſome directions likewiſe, about my ſtables, and as to what is neceſſary for my cloaths; for I am abſolutely naked[24]." In another of his letters to Roſny, he beſeeches of him to repay to his miſtreſs Gabrielle, the ſum of two thouſand crowns, which his urgent neceſſities had compelled him to borrow of her[25]. We can hardly conceive any ſtate more deſtitute; and we feel a degree of involuntary admiration for a prince, whoſe courage and magnanimity ſuſtained him under circumſtances of ſuch depreſſion.

His letter to Roſny.

Other letters to the ſame miniſter.

[23] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 309. [24] Ibid. p. 359. [25] Ibid. p. 366.

During

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During the firſt five years of his reign, neceſſity and reſpect for the memory of his predeceſſor Henry the Third, induced him to leave the excluſive management of the finances, in the hands of the marquis D'O; one of the moſt profligate, rapacious, and extravagant courtiers of the age. His deceaſe in 1594, liberated the king from the ſervitude and poverty in which D'O had held him. Sancy, who had rendered the moſt eminent ſervices to the crown, and whoſe talents embraced the ſcience of finance as well as arms, flattered himſelf with ſucceeding to the vacant poſt. But the enmity of Gabrielle d'Etrées, fruſtrated his hopes; and Henry, diſguſted with a ſingle ſuperintendant, entruſted the care of the revenue to a board, or council, at the head of which was nominally placed the prince of Conti. Finding nevertheleſs, after ſome years, that the incapacity, venality, and tardineſs of the commiſſioners, left him in equal, or greater embarraſſments than before; he determined to delegate to Roſny the ſole, and excluſive management of the finances [26]. It was not till the year 1597, a ſhort time previous to the memorable ſiege of Amiens, that he finally executed a reſolution ſo beneficial to himſelf, and to the ſtate. It produced a total alteration in the French revenue, and forms an epocha in its hiſtory. We never can ſufficiently admire the diſcernment, firmneſs, and wiſdom of Henry, in ſelecting ſuch a miniſter, and in maintaining him againſt all the cabals of powerful and diſcontented men, with whom the court abounded. On the other hand, we are not leſs deeply impreſſed with veneration for Roſny's integrity, incorruptibility, and inflexible ſeverity, in ſo expoſed a ſituation. It required the rare combination of ſuch a prince, and ſuch a ſtateſman, in order to extricate the crown and the kingdom, from a ſtate of complicated and inveterate ruin.

Superintendance of D'O.

His death.

Council of revenue.

Roſny, made ſuperintendant.

Effects of that meaſure.

How numerous, and of what deſcription were the obſtacles to every operation of finance, we may ſee in the writings, or memoirs

Impediments,

[26] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 190—193, and p. 325—337, and p. 352.

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of that illuſtrious miniſter. Princes, ladies, eccleſiaſtics, both Catholic and Hugonot; men of all ranks, attacked him, and endeavoured to circumvent, to intimidate, or to corrupt him. But his principles of honor and loyalty, the exhortations of his maſter, and his conſciouſneſs that Henry would reward his labours by every donation in the power of a grateful ſovereign to beſtow; ſupported him under exertions of body and of mind, almoſt above the force of human nature. In the courſe of near twelve years, that he may be ſaid to have enjoyed the ſupreme and uncontrouled management of the finances, that chaos gradually aſſumed a regular, and a beautiful appearance; emancipated itſelf from the incumbrances, with which it was oppreſſed; and became the moſt ſolid ſupport of the throne.

to his operations.

State of the finances in 1597.

In 1597, every part of the domain, as well as the receipts ariſing from the ordinary revenue, were either engaged to foreign princes, in payment of ſums borrowed during the civil wars; or mortgaged to the great nobility, and adherents of the League, as the purchaſe of their fidelity and ſubmiſſion; or made over to military officers, as the reward of paſt ſervices; or laſtly, retained by the receivers and treaſurers, who made out of their produce, advances of money to the crown [27]. If all the debts, contracted by Henry the Fourth before the treaty of Vervins, within and without the kingdom, had been immediately diſcharged in full; his neat annual revenue remaining, would not have exceeded ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling [28].

Abuſes.

Such were the enormous abuſes practiſed, that we find almoſt all the members of the council of finance, were in their own perſons, the purchaſers and the holders of the various branches of revenue. If they allowed others to participate in the ſpoils, it was not till their conſent was bought; and the higheſt officers of ſtate, even the chan-

[27] Chron. Noven. vol. ii. p. 457, 458. Tavannes, p. 312, 313. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 403.

[28] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 428.

cellor

cellor himſelf, did not bluſh to accept pecuniary conſiderations, for ſelling, or rather for plundering the treaſury [29].

Roſny began by aſcertaining the frauds committed in the value affixed to the taxes farmed of the crown, which he found to produce double the ſum at which they were rated in the reports made by the council. Having remitted all arrears of every kind, due from the ſubject to the Exchequer, up to the preceding year; he iſſued a peremptory injunction to the inferior receivers and collectors throughout France, to bring to the treaſury the ſums reſpectively paid into their hands. They were previouſly accuſtomed to carry thoſe receipts to the great farmers general, who retained, or alienated a conſiderable part [30]. In defiance of obloquy and clamour, he next reſumed the aſſignments of eleven, or twelve principal taxes, mortgaged to various ſovereigns, and to ſome of the nobility; giving to each creditor, in place of the tax ſo taken away, an order on the treaſury for the ſum, at which the impoſition had been originally rated. By this ſingle alteration, he inſtantly augmented the annual revenue near three hundred thouſand crowns, without doing injury or injuſtice to any of the individuals [31].

First ſteps of Roſny.

Reſumption of mortgaged taxes.

We may judge how great were the frauds committed, by the inſtance of the conſtable Montmorency, who owned that he only received four thouſand, five hundred crowns a year, from an impoſition in Languedoc, of which he was poſſeſſed previous to the reſumption made by Roſny. That miniſter farmed it for twenty-five thouſand crowns, immediately afterwards [32]. In 1603, the count of Soiſſons obtained from Henry, whoſe ignorance upon matters of trade and finance rendered him eaſily the dupe of artifice and importunity; a donation of the profits to ariſe from a duty of ſeven-pence halfpenny, upon every bale of linen coming into, or going out of

Augmentation produced by it.

[29] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 328, and p. 331—333, and p. 335—337, and p. 353, 354, and p. 403; and tome ii. p. 425.

[30] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 402.

[31] Ibid. p. 404.

[32] Ibid. p. 403.

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the kingdom. The count eſtimated the annual value of the preſent, at no more than four, to five thouſand crowns: but Roſny having ſhewn the king by accurate calculations, that, beſides the detriment to commerce from ſuch an impoſition, it would raiſe near a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns a year, Henry revoked the grant [33].

Taxes, ſolicited by the courtiers.

Monopolies, excluſive patents, and taxes, were ſolicited by the nobility and ladies of the court, for their private emolument, under Henry the Fourth, with at leaſt as much importunity, as they had been during the reign of his predeceſſor: but happily for the people, not with equal ſucceſs. Roſny, by his remonſtrances, prevented a liſt of more than twenty from being publiſhed at one time. The marchioneſs of Verneuil was one of the ſuitors, and ſixth in priority among the names inſcribed [34]. The queen herſelf did not diſdain to accept bribes, in order to facilitate the regiſtering and paſſing taxes. She received a ſum in 1604, conſiderably exceeding three thouſand pounds ſterling, with the privity of Roſny, to obtain the publication of an edict for augmenting the ſalt tax in Languedoc [35].

Bribes.

Reſources, called out by Roſny.

Such was the rapid and incredible effect of a ſyſtem of enlightened œconomy, rigidly proſecuted during a few years, that it diſpelled all the darkneſs which covered the finances. France, well adminiſtered, ſoon recovered from the confuſion and oppreſſion cauſed by civil war, added to diſſipation and relaxation of government. It is not without a degree of incredulity and aſtoniſhment, that we contemplate the vaſt reſources called out by Roſny. In the ſpace of only eight years from his appointment to the ſuperintendance of the finances, he informs us, that he had liquidated the ſum of three hundred and ſeven millions of livres, due either to foreign ſtates, or to the principal members of the League, or to various individuals within the kingdom. We cannot eſtimate it at leſs than thirteen millions of pounds ſterling [36]. The debt owing to Elizabeth, queen of Eng-

Debts of the crown, liquidated,

to foreign ſtates,

[33] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 177, 178.
[34] Ibid. p. 178.
[35] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 231.
[36] Ibid. p. 348.

land,

land, exceeded two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds; and that due to the Swiſs cantons, was five times greater [37]. Henry was neceſſitated, in order to diſarm the numerous chiefs of the League, to pay them not leſs than the aggregate ſum of one million, three hundred thouſand pounds [38]. Villars alone demanded and obtained, beſides a long liſt of employments and gratifications, the incredible ſum of fifty thouſand pounds for the payment of his debts, and full two thouſand, five hundred pounds, annual penſion [39]. If the relative value of money in that age, as compared with the preſent, be conſidered, we ſhall be loſt in contemplating the magnitude of theſe ſums. Yet as early as 1604, Roſny had already laid up above a million ſterling in ſpecie, and lodged it in the Baſtile [40].

and to the League.

The "Gabelle," or tax upon ſalt, in the ſame year, was farmed at no leſs than a hundred and eighty thouſand pounds [41]. In January, 1610, a few months before the king's aſſaſſination, he poſſeſſed in ready money, near thirty-ſeven millions of livres, which we may eſtimate at more than a million, five hundred thouſand pounds [42]. No European prince of that age, could boaſt of a ſimilar treaſure; and it is difficult to ſay, what limits could have been oppoſed to the power of Henry, aided by ſuch a miniſter, if he had not impoſed a reſtraint on his own ambition, and manifeſted a deſire to extend his empire by moderation, rather than by force. Philip the Third ſucceeded to an exhauſted, disjointed, and impoveriſhed monarchy, overwhelmed with a vaſt debt, and from which he poſſeſſed neither talents, nor exertion, to extricate Spain. Elizabeth, queen of England, effected all the enterprizes of her reign, by frugality: but, the paucity of her revenues incapacitated her for accumulating treaſures. James, her ſucceſſor, with more extended dominions, found himſelf involved in augmented embarraſſments; which the profuſion of his character

Treaſure, amaſſed by Roſny.

Vaſt power of Henry, in 1610.

[37] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 347.
[38] Ibid. p. 348, 349.
[39] Ibid. tome i. p. 134.
[40] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 203.
[41] Ibid. p. 276.
[42] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 471—473.

was

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was calculated to encreaſe. Rodolph the Second was, it is true, rich: but the inaptitude of that emperor, for all public buſineſs; the diſſentions in the imperial family; and the contempt into which he was perſonally fallen; rendered him unable to make effectual oppoſition to the attack on the houſe of Auſtria, meditated by Henry the Fourth. Europe was unqueſtionably, at the eve of a vaſt revolution, when his aſſaſſination took place.

Severity of the taxes.

It was not poſſible for human wiſdom or ingenuity to produce, in the limited ſpace of only twelve years, alterations at once ſo radical and ſo beneficial, in the revenue and finances of France, without impoſing ſevere burthens on the people. Roſny, however meritorious in his general conduct, ſeems always to have had for his primary object, to elevate and enrich his maſter: the protection and alleviation of the ſubject, though uppermoſt in his profeſſions, were ſubordinate to the aggrandizement of the crown. He admits himſelf, in ſome meaſure, the juſtice of the accuſation [43]. Among the moſt unpopular taxes, invented and levied, was that denominated the

The "Pancarte."

"Pancarte." It had been granted for only three years, by the "Notables," aſſembled in 1596, at Rouen; and it conſiſted in an impoſition of a ſous, or halfpenny in the livre, on every commodity, at its entrance into a town. Liſts of the duties to be taken, were affixed at the gates of cities, and excited univerſal diſcontent. The tax was arbitrarily continued, after the expiration of the term for which it had been originally given, though the urgent neceſſity no longer exiſted. Exaſperated by a treatment ſo ſevere, the

Its effects.

inhabitants of Guienne and Languedoc, in 1602, refuſed to pay the "Pancarte;" and at Limoges, as well as at Rochelle, open inſurrections took place. The preſence of the king, accompanied by a tribunal of juſtice, which made ſome examples of the moſt mutinous, quelled indeed, the ſedition; while Roſny induced the people

[43] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 421.

of

of Rochelle to ſubmit oſtenſibly, to the impoſition. But Henry found it expedient to aboliſh the tax, before the cloſe of the ſame year [44].

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and abolition.

If the "Pancarte" gave riſe to ſuch dangerous commotions, the "Paulette" was not leſs pernicious, by its operation on morals and juſtice. It originated in 1604, and was attributed excluſively to Roſny. Previous to that time, all officers of civil and criminal judicature throughout France, might reſign their poſts, and ſubſtitute any other perſon in their place: but, in order that the reſignation ſhould be valid, it was requiſite that the individual quitting, ſhould ſurvive his ſurrender, forty days; otherwiſe the right of nominating to the vacancy reverted to the crown. Roſny, with a view to derive a conſiderable acceſſion of wealth to the treaſury, iſſued an order, by which all legal offices and employments were aſſured to the widow and heirs at large of the late poſſeſſor, on the annual payment to the king of the ſixtieth part of the ſum, at which the office was valued. The natural and inevitable effect of ſuch a regulation, was to render the higheſt judicial ſituations at once venal and hereditary. The perſons occupying them, no longer felt any dependance on, or any apprehenſion of the ſovereign authority. Neither virtue, talents, nor induſtry could conduct to legal dignities: money alone procured them, and perpetuated them in certain families; or transferred them as an object of ſale. Thoſe who purchaſed, neceſſarily conceived themſelves free to ſell, not only their place; but juſtice itſelf, in order to recover the ſum which it had originally coſt to acquire poſſeſſion. De Thou declaims with honeſt indignation, againſt an inſtitution, which degraded the ſanctity and majeſty of the laws, perpetuated chicane, and proſtituted to ignorance the honors and rewards, from which genius or merit were excluded. It is impoſſible to juſtify, and ſtill more difficult to approve the motives, which in-

The "Pau-lette."

Its nature,

and perni-cious conſe-quences,

on morals.

[44] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 231, 232. Chron. Septen. p. 284. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 382.

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duced Roſny to propoſe, and Henry to promulgate, an edict of ſuch a tendency [45].

Inequality of the taxes,

One of the circumſtances characteriſtic of the period under our conſideration, and which excites as much amazement as concern, is the notorious inequality with which the pecuniary burthens were impoſed. While the privileged orders, peculiarly the clergy and the nobles, were exempted from almoſt all perſonal contributions, except ſuch as held to the feudal ſyſtem of military vaſſalage; the wretched peaſant was reduced to indigence, trampled on, and loaded with taxes beyond his ability to furniſh. In ſome provinces, this exemption of the upper claſſes, and oppreſſion of the inferior, was ſo tyrannical, as to exceed the patience of men, however inured to deſpo-

in Dauphiné.

tiſm. The inhabitants of Dauphiné ſuffered, in an eſpecial degree, from it; and they ventured to appeal to the juſtice of the crown, againſt the intolerable hardſhips of every kind, under which they groaned. The cauſe, after a delay of many years, was ſolemnly argued before the council; and ſentence was pronounced in the king's preſence. It took place in 1602. All the exemptions, enjoyed by the higher orders, were confirmed; and the people, or third eſtate, were condemned to pay excluſively every contribution levied throughout the province, on goods, cattle, and articles of merchandize. The profeſſion of the law entitled to the ſame privileges, as the rank of a noble, or as the eccleſiaſtical character, in virtue of this decree. We can never ſufficiently reprobate the ſpirit of injuſtice which dictated it; nor enough lament the cruel tyranny exerciſed on the huſbandman, the mechanic, and all the lower claſs of ſubjects. It required nevertheleſs, the exertions of a government, as well eſtabliſhed and as vigorous as that of Henry, to enforce obedience to his edict, and to prevent an inſurrection in Dauphiné [46].

Deciſion on the appeal of the people.

[45] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324—326. Mezeray, vol. x. p 310—314. Jour. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p 93, 94.

[46] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 116—119. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 192—205.

During

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During his whole reign, the great contractors, receivers, and farmers general, were objects of continual obloquy, and frequent proſecution. Their prodigious wealth, the luxury in which they lived, and their exceſſes of every kind, naturally expoſed them to popular indignation [47]. Zamet, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and with whom Henry lived on terms of uncommon familiarity; entitled himſelf, in the contract of marriage drawn up for his daughter, "lord of eight hundred and fifty thouſand crowns [48]." Repeated and almoſt periodical enquiries were ſet on foot, between 1597 and 1605, in order to compel theſe opulent defaulters, to refund their acquiſitions. But, the riches which they had amaſſed, formed their beſt protection againſt puniſhment; and by purchaſing the favour of the crown with a ſmall part of their depredations, they quietly retained the remainder. Such was the invariable iſſue of all the commiſſions, inſtituted for bringing them to juſtice; which might in reality, be conſidered only as inventions for raiſing money, in moments of exigency [49].

Wealth of the farmers general.

Zamet.

Enquiries into their conduct.

If any ſpecies of public propriety in that age, could be eſteemed ſacred and protected by the national faith, it was the intereſt of the ſums advanced on the mortgage of the revenues, and paid by the town-hall of Paris. Yet we have ſeen, that in 1596, Henry ſeized on four thouſand crowns of thoſe funds [50]. Philip the Second, ſome years before, as a powerful inducement to the States, to elect him "protector of the kingdom," ſpecifically engaged "to place in "Paris, a ſum equal to eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, as a "ſecurity for the future diſcharge of the arrears payable at the town-"hall [51]." It appears, that about fifty-two thouſand pounds annu-

Inſecurity of public property.

[47] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 261, 262.

[48] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 144. Confeſſion de Sancy, liv. ii. chap. i. Remarques, 326.

[49] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324, and p. 448, 449. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 59, and p. 165, 166. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 28. Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 216.

[50] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 147.

[51] Chron. Nov, vol. i. p. 287.

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Taxes, levied on the clergy.

ally were levied from the church, for the ſole and excluſive purpoſe of paying the creditors. In 1596, the eccleſiaſtics endeavoured to elude ſo heavy a contribution: but the king, far from excuſing them, obliged the aſſembly of the clergy to engage for the continuance of it during ten years, in order to pacify the inhabitants of the metropolis [52]. Roſny, in 1604, made ſome regulations, with a view to facilitate the payments; and at his ſuggeſtion, Henry attempted not long afterwards, to inſtitute an enquiry into the origin and validity of the reſpective annuities, or debts. It was intended to reimburſe ſuch as were proved to be fair and legally contracted; to ſuppreſs the defective, or unjuſt ones; and to reduce the intereſt of all the annuitants, from ten per cent. to ſix and a quarter; the rate at which intereſt for money had been fixed by an edict, iſſued in 1601. A court, compoſed of magiſtrates, or perſons of eminence in the law, was appointed for the purpoſe. The king was compelled nevertheleſs, to abandon a project, which, whatever advantages it might promiſe to the crown and to the nation, muſt have been obtained by the injury of a number of individuals, and a breach of public faith. A ſedition was on the point of breaking out in Paris, if the government had not appeaſed it, by aſſurances of ſtopping all further proceedings againſt the owners, or poſſeſſors of money, iſſuing out of the town-hall [53]. No ſimilar attempt was renewed under Henry the Fourth.

Enquiry, projected by Roſny,

and dropped.

Coin.

The current coin appears throughout his whole reign, to have been in a ſtate of great debaſement; and the evil was too inveterate, to be eaſily redreſſed. During the anarchy of the civil wars, governors of caſtles and towns arrogated with impunity, the right of ſtriking copper pieces, with which the kingdom was inundated [54]. Mendoza, the Spaniſh embaſſador, during the ſiege of Paris in 1590, cauſed

[52] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 598.

[53] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 23, and p. 205. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 444—446. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 333—335. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 141, 142.

[54] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 24. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 384.

vaſt quantities of half ſous or farthings, to be coined, which he diſtributed by handfulls to the populace. They bore the impreſſion of the arms of Philip the Second, and continued long in circulation [55]. Almoſt all the gold, ſeems to have been that of Spain; piſtoles, ducats, and doubloons. We ſcarcely find mention made of any other [56]. In 1595, ſuch was the deficiency of gold or ſilver coin, that Villeroy informs us, he was obliged to employ ſeventeen carts or waggons, in order to tranſport a ſum of about twelve thouſand pounds, from Lyons to Dijon, for the payment of the royal forces. The whole remittance was in copper [57]. During the ſiege of Amiens, two years afterwards, Roſny employed ſeventy waggons, to carry about ſixty thouſand pounds, from Paris to the royal camp; the far greater part of the money being of the ſame metal [58].

Spaniſh money.

Want of gold, or ſilver coin.

It was an object of that miniſter's inceſſant and vigilant attention, during his whole adminiſtration, to prevent the tranſport of ſpecie, particularly gold, out of the kingdom. He made ſome ſeizures of conſiderable magnitude, before he could check the practice [59]. In 1602, more effectually to counteract it, he raiſed the value of the coin. The half-crown was encreaſed from thirty pence, to thirty-two pence halfpenny, and the other inferior coins, in proportion. No foreign money, except that of Spain, was admitted in circulation [60]. At the ſame time he induced the king to adopt another financial meaſure, the effect of which appears to have been very diſputable. The edict of Henry the Third, promulgated in 1577, enjoining that all accounts ſhould be kept, and all pecuniary tranſactions made by "ecus," or half crowns, was abrogated; and the "livre," an imaginary money, of about ten-pence halfpenny value, was ſubſtituted in its ſtead. De Thou, whoſe teſtimony muſt be

Augmentation of the value of money.

Change in the mode of accounts.

[55] Satyre Menip. vol. ii. Remarques, p. 362. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 166.

[56] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 120; and tome ii. p. 19, and p. 23.

[57] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 193.

[58] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 331.

[59] Ibid. tome ii. p. 19.

[60] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 383. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 19, and p. 54.

regarded

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regarded as much more impartial than Roſny's, arraigns the ſolidity of the principles, upon which ſo eſſential a change was introduced; and attributes to it a number of very pernicious conſequences. It is difficult to determine on the reſpective validity of the arguments, or aſſertions [61]. The mode of reckoning by livres, has ſubſiſted invariably during the courſe of near two centuries, which have already elapſed. Even the preſent convention, an aſſembly which has ſyſtematically torn up all the inſtitutions of antiquity; which has given new names to towns and cities; divided France by new geographical denominations; and renounced the Chriſtian era, in order to date from the commencement of their republic: yet hitherto, either has not ventured, or has not choſen to make any alteration in the received practice of keeping accounts, or in the name and impreſſion of the current coin.

Reflexions on that meaſure.

Nature of military ſervice.

The nature of military ſervice underwent an efficient and radical, though a ſilent and progreſſive change, under Henry the Fourth. During the period of the civil wars, and of thoſe carried on againſt Philip the Second, it held to the principles of the feudal ſyſtem. The king was followed to the field by his nobility, who ſerved from loyalty, and quitted the camp at diſcretion; or retired, when domeſtic avocations demanded their preſence. Their vaſſals and retainers conſtituted the ſtrength of armies. Stipendiaries from Switzerland and Germany; and auxiliary troops from England or Holland, augmented the national forces, and might be, with more propriety, conſidered as depending on the ſovereign. The wants, diſorders, inſubordination, and mortality, among theſe undiſciplined and heterogeneous maſſes, impeded their operations, and incapacitated them for enterprizes of duration. They were neither paid, cloathed, nor ſubſiſted, except as the accidents of war, and the opportunities of plunder afforded means. We find them frequently deſcribed as nearly

Wants of armies.

[61] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 55. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 111, 112. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 383, 384. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 201, 202.

in

in a ſtate of nudity, wanting common food or neceſſaries, and only prolonging a precarious exiſtence, by pillage and violence [62]. De Thou expreſsly declares, that the king was principally compelled to withdraw his forces before Paris in 1590, on the approach of the duke of Parma, "becauſe his infantry was almoſt naked, without hats, "ſhoes, or ſhirts; and their neceſſities of every kind ſuch, that for "a little money, they would not only permit convoys of proviſions "to enter the place, but even privately aid, and facilitate their in-"troduction." Similar, or greater diſtreſs exiſted among the troops of Leſdiguieres, in 1594, and 1596. Contagious diſtempers, famine, and wounds ſoon diminiſhed the moſt flouriſhing armies. No hoſpitals, and few medical aids were known. The firſt regular hoſpital, properly ſo denominated, ſeen in France as attached to an army, and maintained by the crown, owed its eſtabliſhment to the humanity and precautions of Roſny in 1597, when Henry beſieged Amiens [63].

Diſtempers.

Previous to the treaty of Vervins in 1598, no large bodies of men were ever retained under the ſtandard. It was impracticable to prevent their diſbanding, when aſſailed by hunger, nakedneſs, and the inclemency of the elements. The nobility, impelled by honor, hurried to participate in the glory and danger of an action; and abandoned the camp with the ſame precipitation, when the occaſion was paſt. Every year furniſhes examples of this fact. Even on the ſtay of the foreign and mercenary forces, no reliance could be placed; though they were uſually better paid, and indulged in many exceſſes, in order to attach them to the ſervice. Yet they frequently quitted the prince in whoſe employ they had enliſted, plundered the ſutlers, impriſoned their commanding officers, and either marched back into their own country, or entered into the oppoſite party [64]. During the

Difficulty of retaining them.

Foreign troops, mutinous.

[62] Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 437—439. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 381. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 359, and p. 362. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 69, and p. 147, and p. 186-7; and vol. xii. p. 327, and p. 612. Davila, p. 1088.

[63] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 353; and tome ii. p. 429. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 400.

[64] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 437, 438, and p. 41.

wars

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wars of the League, between 1589, and 1595 when every effort was made on both ſides, and when Spain, Germany, England, Flanders, and Italy, ſent aſſiſtance to one or the other; the numbers were few, compared with thoſe brought into the field by Louis the Fourteenth, or in the preſent century. The largeſt army of which we find mention, was conducted by Mayenne againſt Henry, before Arques, in 1589. It exceeded twenty-eight thouſand infantry and cavalry. The king had not above ſeven thouſand troops of all deſcriptions, under his command [65].

Armies, ſmall.

Examples.

At the memorable battle of Ivry in the following year, Henry could only collect about eight thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe: his antagoniſt was at the head of four thouſand, five hundred cavalry, and near twenty thouſand foot. About a fifth part conſiſted of Germans, or Walloons and Spaniards [66]. The moſt conſiderable army which Henry was ever able to aſſemble, ſeems to have been in September, 1590, when he marched to meet the dukes of Parma and Mayenne. He had near twelve thouſand French, and ſix thouſand foreign foot; beſides five, to ſix thouſand cavalry, of which more than two-thirds were gentlemen. But it diſſolved in a few days, and left him almoſt without protection for his perſon [67]. Carabineers firſt appeared in France at Ivry, where count Egmont brought four hundred to the aid of the League. They were Walloons, well armed and mounted, commanded by the viſcount de Tavannes. Their novelty, and the promptitude of their movements, rendered them formidable to the royaliſts [68]. Two years later, at the combat of Aumale, we find that Henry had dragoons in his army [69]. It appears that they had been known under the preceding reign, as early as 1585 [70].

Carabineers.

Dragoons.

Change of ſyſtem.

How great an alteration had taken place in the compoſition of armies, before 1610, we may ſee in Sully. When the king pro-

[65] Davila, p. 841, and p. 845.
[66] Ibid. p. 890, and p. 892.
[67] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 378—382.
[68] Davila, p. 890. Chr. Nov. vol. i. p. 332.
[69] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 19.
[70] Memoires de la Ligue, tome iii. p. 39, 40. Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 90.

jected

jected to march towards Juliers in that year, he no longer relied either on the courage, or the adherence of his nobility, for ſucceſs. He knew that only regular troops, conſtantly paid by the crown, could enable him to contend with the houſe of Auſtria. The different bodies, actually raiſed and fit for action, amounted to forty-four thouſand foot, a thouſand volunteer horſe, and four thouſand, ſix hundred cavalry in pay [71]. We find that in February, 1610, the daily pay of a common foot ſoldier was eight ſous, or four-pence; that of a ſerjeant, five-pence [72]. If we conſider the relative value of money, we ſhall admit that it was ample. Henry, in a letter to Sully, expreſsly enjoins him to give that ſum to all the recruits, "in "order," ſays he, "that they may not commit any violence upon "my people [73]."

Pay of troops.

The ſcience of tactics, and in particular, the uſe and practice of artillery, kept pace with the other improvements of the military art. The number of cannon in the armies of the crown and of the League, during the civil wars, was very ſmall. At the battle of Ivry, in which the whole ſtrength of the two parties was drawn out, the king had only four cannon, and two field-pieces. Mayenne, though greatly ſuperior in force, was inferior in artillery to Henry [74]. When Paris was beſieged in 1590, the utmoſt exertions of the duke of Nemours, aided by the contributions of the citizens, who voluntarily gave up all their culinary veſſels of copper, which were caſt into cannon; could only furniſh ſixty-five pieces of ordnance, of various ſizes and deſcriptions. They were diſpoſed along the ramparts, and over the gates, in the places moſt liable to attack [75]. In 1597, the whole artillery of France fit for uſe, was below forty cannon, which the king had ſent to Amiens, together with a hundred thouſand pounds weight of gunpowder. Villeroy, then ſecretary of ſtate, de-

Tactics.

Artillery.

Condition of it in 1597.

[71] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 469.
[72] Ibid. p. 474.
[73] Idem, ibid.
[74] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 327, and p. 330.
[75] Ibid. p. 355. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 166.

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clares that when Porto-carrero ſurprized Amiens, and rendered himſelf maſter of theſe cannon, there was not a ſingle piece mounted, in the king's poſſeſſion [76].

Efforts of Roſny.

Such was the deplorable condition of the ordnance, when Roſny was placed at the head of that department. His firſt care was to provide twenty pieces of artillery, which were ſent to the royal camp before Amiens, with the requiſite apparatus for conducting them, and ſufficient powder and ball for three thouſand diſcharges [77]. As early as the month of July in the ſame year, four cannons were caſt at the foundery in the arſenal, of which three were forwarded to the king; and we may ſee the anxiety expreſſed by him, and his vexation at finding that the fourth had been ſent elſewhere [78].

State of the arſenal, in 1599.

The arſenal, even in 1599, was in ſuch a ſtate of diſorder, and ſo totally deſtitute of artillery, ſtores, or ammunition; that Roſny was aſhamed and unwilling to permit Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, then at Paris, to ſee the wretched condition of ſo important a branch of the national defence. He broke, as he informs us in his Memoirs, near five hundred officers and clerks, when he entered on his functions as maſter general; the greater part of whom were only ſervants of financiers, and of perſons in legal employments [79].

in 1604,

How rapidly the department aſſumed a new face, is evident from the ſhort war with Savoy, in the autumn of the ſame year. Notwithſtanding all the impediments neceſſarily ariſing from an advanced ſeaſon, and a mountainous country, covered with ſnow; Roſny found means to tranſport above forty battering cannon over the Alps, and to compel Montmelian, the fort St. Catherine, and many other fortreſſes, to ſurrender [80]. As early as 1604, there were in the arſenal two hundred cannon; arms for fifteen thouſand infantry, and three thouſand horſe; two millions of pounds of gunpowder, and a hundred thouſand bullets [81]. In 1606,

[76] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 209.
[77] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 335.
[78] Ibid. p. 359.
[79] Ibid. p. 433.
[80] Sully, tome i. p. 443, and p. 447—454. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 473, and p. 476.
[81] Ibid. tome ii. p. 230.

when

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when Henry marched againſt Sedan, he was accompanied by fifty pieces of artillery, admirably furniſhed and ſerved [82]. At the time of his death, the royal arſenal abounded in every ſpecies of military weapon, ordnance, and ammunition [83]. We could ſcarcely believe, on leſs authority than that of Sully himſelf, that he had provided four hundred cannon of the firſt ſize, all mounted, equipped, and ready for action; with two hundred thouſand ball of the ſame dimenſions. Four millions of pounds of powder were laid up in caſks. Arms for thirty thouſand infantry, and for eight thouſand cavalry, together with the requiſite piſtols, accompanied them. Europe might juſtly tremble at a prince, who poſſeſſed ſuch means of offence [84]. and in 1610.

Many changes and improvements were made in the ſcience of war, between the acceſſion and death of Henry the Fourth. Field pieces, or culverins as they were called, owed their invention to Charles Briſe, a Norman. Two of them, which accompanied the royal cavalry at the combat of Arques in 1589, excited ſuch ſurprize and terror among the enemy's horſe, by the celerity with which they made their diſcharge, and the eaſe with which they wheeled off; that they contributed in an eminent degree, to the advantage obtained over the troops of the League [85]. Piſtols, which had long been gaining ground, were altogether ſubſtituted for lances, among the cavalry, early in Henry's reign: but this innovation, far from being conſidered as ſalutary or uſeful, was deplored and condemned by the ableſt commanders [86]. In 1590, bombs are deſcribed by Cayet, as thrown into Nimeguen by Maurice, prince of Orange: we find no mention of them in France [87]. The art of mining made conſiderable advances. At the ſiege of Dreux in 1593, an Engliſhman in the royal army contrived, with a very ſmall quantity of powder, to ſhatter and open the great tower, Military improvements. Field pieces. Bombs. Mines.

[82] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 35.
[83] Ibid. p. 446, and p. 466, and p. 469.
[84] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 431.
[85] Davila, p. 852.
[86] Ibid. p. 893.
[87] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 392.

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which formed the principal defence of the place. The ſcience which he diſplayed, and the aſtoniſhing effect of his ſkill, drew applauſes from the troops, while it compelled the beſieged to ſurrender [88]. Tactics and engineering, as founded on mathematical principles, began to be ſtudied by the French nobility. Chatillon, ſon to the admiral Coligny, and who diſplayed at an early period of life, uncommon talents for war, led the way to theſe ſcientific reſearches, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf [89]. The capture of Chartres in 1591, was principally, if not entirely due to a machine of his invention, which facilitated the approach of the ſoldiers to the very foot or entrance of the breach under cover [90].

Engineering.

Inferiority of the French,

Notwithſtanding ſo many progreſſive ſteps in the art of war, the French, not only at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, but during the whole reign of Henry, were far inferior in this reſpect to the Spaniards. No general of the period under our review, could emulate the fame of the duke of Parma, who equalled in celebrity the greateſt captains of antiquity. His two expeditions, for the relief of Paris and of Rouen, which he atchieved under infinite diſadvantages, ariſing from the incompatibility of the nations and commanders, covered him with glory. His paſſage of the Seine at Caudebec, in ſight of a victorious army led on by Henry himſelf, ſeemed to partake of prodigy; and eclipſes every thing which can be placed in competition with it, from the earlieſt times. The ſiege of Antwerp may vie with that of Tyre, by Alexander; and was a far more arduous undertaking than that of Rochelle, by Richlieu. Spinola ſucceeded to a conſiderable portion of Farneſe's genius, and maintained the ſame diſcipline among the Spaniſh bands.

to the duke of Parma.

Spaniſh infantry,

The infantry of Philip the Second and Third, which for more than half a century had ſpread terror over Europe; and which

[88] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 276, 277, and p. 390.

[89] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 417.

[90] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 416. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 208. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 62.

under

under Henry the Second, as well as under Henry the Fourth, had nearly accompliſhed the deſtruction of France; was compoſed of all the various nations ſubject to Spain, from the extremities of Calabria and Sicily, to the banks of the Scheld and the Rhine. They partook in no degree of the inherent defects and vices, attached to military ſervice on the feudal principles. Conſtantly retained under the ſtandard, and employed uninterruptedly, during more than forty years, from 1567 to 1609, againſt the Dutch; they became ſuperior to the infantry of every other nation. The poverty of the Spaniſh kings, exhauſted by the gigantic and ruinous ambition of Philip the Second, left them nevertheleſs frequently unpaid; and compelled them, ſword in hand, to extort by menaces, inſurrection, and devaſtation, their hard-earned arrears. Theſe frequent mutinies aided the common enemy in no ſmall degree, and were highly inſtrumental towards the emancipation of the Dutch republic.

how excellent.

Mutinies.

The duke of Parma ſtudied and conducted war as a ſcience, to which mathematical, geographical, and even hiſtorical aid was indiſpenſable. When he entered France on his two ſucceſſive expeditions, he advanced by regular marches, encamping after the manner of the Romans, reconnoitring carefully his ground, and with the chart conſtantly in his hand [91]. He carried with him a train of twenty pieces of cannon, pontoons for conſtructing two bridges, and fifteen hundred carts of ammunition [92]. His troops neither quitted their ranks to ſtraggle, nor to plunder; and ſevere diſcipline prevented any exceſſes. So great was the veneration of the ſoldiery for his perſon and talents, that even the want of pay could not ſhake their obedience [93]. The French were defective in all theſe particulars. In every operation which demanded ſkill, ſubordination, and ſcience, Farneſe invariably ſucceeded. The admirable order of his infantry was ſuch, that the elder Biron thought no advantage of ground or

Conduct of the duke of Parma,

in his expeditions.

[91] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 464. [92] Davila, p. 948. [93] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 488.

poſition

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position could justify, or enable Henry the Fourth to attack them [94]. When the younger Biron, impelled by his courage, ventured to charge the Spaniards on their retreat into Flanders in 1590, he had nearly expiated his temerity with his life; and it required the utmost exertions of the king himself, at the head of the choicest of the French cavalry, to effect his extrication [95].

Encomiums of Henry, on the Spanish infantry.

Seven years afterwards, the army which under the arch-duke Albert, had unsuccessfully attempted to throw supplies into Amiens, retired in open day, and in presence of the whole royal horse, commanded by Henry in person. They were repulsed in every charge, by the superior firmness and order of the Spanish foot; which appeared so impossible to be broken or disordered, that the king burst into involuntary expressions of astonishment and admiration. Davila says, that he openly protested, "no other soldiers in the world could "do so much; and that if he had their infantry, joined to his own ca"valry, he would not fear to make war against the whole earth [96]." They long continued during the seventeenth century, to support the same reputation, and to preserve the same military pre-eminence.

Decay of the French navy.

It excites some degree of surprize, to find that even at the close of Henry's reign, France was still totally destitute of any navy. Sully had re-established the finances, and the ordnance. The king personally superintended the military department; but the marine sunk into complete oblivion. He seems to have maintained some gallies in the Levant, for the protection of commerce [97]: but neither at Toulon, nor at Brest, in the Mediterranean, nor on the Atlantic, could he be said to possess a naval force [98]. When Mary of Medecis embarked from Leghorn for Marseilles, she was escorted solely by Tuscan and Maltese gallies [99].

[94] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 238.
[95] Davila, p. 967.
[96] Ibid. p. 1471.
[97] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 336.
[98] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 259.
[99] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 667, 668.

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Commerce.

The French commerce and navigation, in common with all the other arts of peace, were in a ſtate of the loweſt depreſſion, at the concluſion of the ſixteenth century. Scarcely any revenue was derived from the cuſtoms or duties on articles of merchandize; nor can we wonder at it, when we reflect that the crown was unable to extend even the ſmalleſt protection to the trading part of its ſubjects [100]. Piracies were committed with impunity in the narrow ſeas. Commercial treaties, it is true, ſubſiſted between France and England; but they were ſo advantageous to the latter, and ſo onerous or injurious to the former nation, that Henry, in the inſtructions delivered to Roſny, when ſent as embaſſador in 1603 to James the Firſt, enjoins him to remonſtrate ſtrongly on that point, with the Engliſh court [101]. He even aſſerts, however incredible the fact may appear, that the depredations ſuſtained by his ſubjects from thoſe of Elizabeth, ſince his acceſſion, and particularly ſince the peace of Vervins, for which not the ſlighteſt compenſation had been made, exceeded in value a hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling [102]. He adds, that the queen promiſed indemnification and redreſs, but that it was never obtained; the neceſſary conſequence of which, was the entire ruin and extinction of the French trade with England. It appears, that before 1601, the ſhips of Elizabeth had not only emancipated themſelves from the antient practice and neceſſity of trafficking in all the ports of the L vant, under the flag of France; but that they extended their protection to Flemiſh and Dutch veſſels, which navigated the Archipelago under Engliſh colours. Henry made warm, though as it would ſeem, ineffectual complaints of it, to Mahomet the Third, ſultan of the Turks [103].

Piracies.

Depredations of the Engliſh.

Levant trade.

That the Engliſh arrogated, and maintained the right of compelling ſhips of every nation and deſcription, to lower their colours in the Britiſh channel, is inconteſtable. Perhaps it is not quite as

Right, claimed by England,

[100] Davila, p. 1434.
[101] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 93.
[102] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 93.
[103] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 85.

clear,

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clear, that the French acquieſced in the validity of the pretenſion; though motives of policy or of neceſſity might induce them to ſubmit to it on certain occaſions. In 1603, when Roſny came over as embaſſador to James the Firſt, every teſtimony of affection and reſpect was exhibited towards him, by the Engliſh admiral commanding in the ſtraits of Dover. Roſny embarked on board his veſſels, and the moſt cordial amity ſeemed to ſubſiſt on both ſides. But no ſooner did de Vic, as vice-admiral of France, approach with the French flag at his main-top-gallant-maſt-head, than the Engliſhman inſtantly pointed near fifty cannon at him, and prepared to ſink him. It required all the exertions of Roſny, to prevent hoſtilities. De Vic, at his deſire, pulled down the French colours, though not without reluctance and menaces. We are ignorant whether James avowed, or diſavowed the proceeding [104].

in the Britiſh channel.

Philip the Second, among the other lures which he held out, to amuſe the States and people of France in 1589, with a view to procure a recognition of the title of protector of the kingdom; expreſsly engaged to admit all French ſubjects without exception, to carry on trade with Peru, and the other countries on the Pacific Ocean, as well as in the Eaſt Indies. It was further ſtipulated, that they might either enter into partnerſhip with Spaniſh and Portugueſe merchants, or engage in ſeparate adventures, as they might judge moſt profitable [105]. His ſucceſſor, Philip the Third, in 1601 laid a duty of thirty per cent. on all commodities imported into Spain, of the growth or produce of France. The ſame meaſure was embraced by Albert and Iſabella, in the Netherlands. Irritated at a proceeding ſo detrimental to the intereſts of his people, Henry by proclamation prohibited all intercourſe whatever between his ſubjects, and thoſe of the Catholic king, or the arch-duke [106]. Such nevertheleſs were the

Promiſe, made to the French, by Philip the Second.

Duty, laid by Philip the Third,

on French goods.

[104] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 105, 106, and p. 109. Chron. Septen. p. 411.

[105] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 288.

[106] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 218, and 223. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 281. Mezeray, vol. x. p 297, 298.

profits

profits annexed to the exportation of grain from France, that no penalties could repreſs it; and vaſt quantities were clandeſtinely ſhipped on board Engliſh and other veſſels, from the poſt of Les Sables d'Olonne on the coaſt of Poitou, to St. Sebaſtian, in Biſcay [107]. After this interruption of commerce had ſubſiſted above three years, to the infinite loſs and injury of both nations, an accommodation took place, and trade was reſumed [108]. Duties on the entrance of foreign veſſels into the French ports, denominated anchorage money, began to be levied by the king's order, about the year 1602, in imitation of England and Spain, where they had been earlier eſtabliſhed [109]. Little improvement ſeems to have been made by the French, in the art of navigation. The Dutch alone, before the concluſion of the ſixteenth century, were acquainted with the ſecret of ſheathing ſhips. As early as 1598, they uſed lead for that purpoſe, with which they covered their largeſt Eaſt Indiamen [110].

Accommodation.

Colonization made ſome feeble attempts to diſcover, and to plant the American continent, after the termination of the civil, and foreign wars. As early as 1598, the marquis de la Roche, a Breton nobleman, ſet ſail for, and arrived at Cape Sable, the ſouthern point of Acadia: but receiving no ſupport from the crown, he abandoned to their fate, a colony which he had left on that coaſt [111]. Early in the enſuing century, de Mons, a gentleman of Saintonge, having obtained from the government an excluſive privilege of importing and vending furs, as a compenſation for the riſk and expence of his projected voyage; embarked anew for the iſland of Cape Breton, near the entrance of the river St. Lawrence. He had a proſperous navigation acroſs the Atlantic. His little ſquadron conſiſted only of two veſſels, the largeſt of which was about a hundred and fifty tons burthen. De Mons entered the St. Lawrence, aſcended it near eighty

Colonization.

Voyages, to Canada.

[107] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 245, and p. 255.
[108] Ibid. p. 275—281.
[109] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 71.
[110] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 446.
[111] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 330, 331.

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leagues, and conſtructed a fort on its banks. But, occupied more in ſearch of mines, than in queſt of furs, his crew and the adventurers who had accompanied him, periſhed, the far greater part, of ſcorbutic diſtempers. Little national benefit reſulted from the attempt [112]. Sully diſcouraged, and diſapproved all expeditions of colonization, to the north of the fortieth degree of latitude; eſteeming the rigour of the climate inſupportable, or the productions of little value [113]. Yet in 1606, Poutrincour, who had accompanied De Mons in his voyage, again returned to Canada, paſſed the winter there, entered into connexions with the Indians, and made farther diſcoveries relative to the ſurrounding country. He returned from Cape Canſo to St. Malo, in the autumn of 1607 [114].

Little advantage derived from them.

Canals.

If Sully was adverſe to foreign expeditions of diſcovery, he extended the warmeſt patronage to projects for internal navigation. At his ſuggeſtion, and under his immediate ſuperintendance, a canal was begun for joining the Seine and the Loire. It was continued during ſeveral years, and near forty thouſand pounds were expended on it: but the king's death interrupted its completion, and Mary of Medecis was occupied more in meaſures to preſerve her own authority, than in enterprizes of general utility. The work was abandoned, and reſumed at a ſubſequent period [115]. Even the celebrated junction of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, executed by Riquet under Louis the Fourteenth, and which contributed to immortalize his reign, was ſketched and propoſed as early as 1604. Cayet, a contemporary writer, aſſures us that an engineer undertook, on payment of a penalty in caſe of failure, to complete the communication from ſea to ſea, and to open it for boats of a certain ſize, within the ſpace of a year, for only five thouſand pounds ſterling. He does not

[112] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 331—336.
[113] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 182.
[114] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 14—17.
[115] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 291; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 277, and 278. Chron. Sept. p. 449. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 317.

ſpecify

ſpecify the reaſons which delayed, or prevented the accompliſhment of ſo beneficial an undertaking [116].

Manufactures of every kind, whether of neceſſity, or of refinement, appear to have made the moſt vigorous efforts, and a rapid progreſs, during the auſpicious period of tranquillity, which intervened from the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, to the cloſe of the reign under our review. So deſtitute was France of fabricks miniſtring to luxury in 1599, that Henry iſſued an edict, prohibiting the importation of foreign ſilks, on account of the prodigious ſums annually ſent out of the kingdom for their purchaſe. The inhabitants of the city of Tours, who had extorted from him this prohibition by importunity, undertook to ſupply all the national demand for ſilk, as well as for gold and ſilver ſtuffs: but experience proved how much they had miſtaken their own powers. Early in the following year, 1603, the king was obliged to reſcind the edict, and to permit the entry of the interdicted articles [117]. Henry, and his miniſter, had embraced very oppoſite opinions and modes of thinking, on the ſubject of the arts and manufactures connected with luxury. Sully, content with preventing by vigilance, the exportation of ſpecie, propoſed no meaſures for attracting to France, the ſuperfluous money of the ſurrounding countries. The king deſired, by every mode, to draw into his dominions the gold of Spain, Italy, Germany, and England. Sully wiſhed to baniſh expence and refinement, to reſtrain the inordinate profuſion in dreſs and tables, and to bring back the nation to the ſimplicity and frugality of the times of Charles the the Eighth, and Louis the Twelfth. Henry, more enlarged in his views, and conſcious of the impracticability of ſuch attempts, limited his ambition to enriching his ſubjects by the fabrication of thoſe commodities, the uſe of which it was in vain to prohibit. Sully, vanquiſhed, but not convinced, ſlowly and reluctantly complied with

Manufactures.

Prohibition of ſilks.

Repeal of the edict.

Difference of Henry's, and of Sully's views,

relative to the arts of luxury.

[116] Chron. Sept. p. 449.

[117] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 427. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 330—332. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 434.

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the injunctions of his maſter [118]. We may ſee, with what importunity the king was obliged to ſolicit him to iſſue even the ſmalleſt ſums from the treaſury, to foreign artiſts, who on the faith of the royal word, had quitted their native countries, in order to commence manufactures in France [119].

Prejudices of Sully, reſpecting ſilk.

On the article of ſilk, Sully appears to have adopted or imbibed, the moſt inſurmountable prejudices. He conceived, that the climate of France would not permit the rearing an inſect, ſo delicate as the ſilk-worm; and he dreaded, leſt an occupation ſo ſedentary and inactive, ſhould gradually impair the courage, or enervate the martial diſpoſition of his countrymen. Henry derided theſe imaginary apprehenſions, and perſiſted in his reſolution [120]. As early as 1603, temporary buildings were conſtructed at Fontainbleau, at the caſtle of Madrid, and at the palace of the Thuilleries, for the reception and protection of the ſilk worms. Mulberry trees for their nouriſhment, were planted in various provinces; particularly in the vicinity of Paris, Orleans, Tours, and Lyons. The government cauſed pamphlets, written upon the art of cultivating the mulberry tree, and upon the nature of the means to be uſed for preſerving the ſilk-worm, to be printed and diſtributed among the people. A board, or council for the affairs of commerce, was inſtituted; and every means adopted, to give energy to the undertaking [121]. In 1605, we find the king procuring ſilk-worms from Valentia in Spain [122]. He had the ſatisfaction to ſee before his death, the compleat ſucceſs of his endeavours, and the progreſs made by his ſubjects in ſo lucrative a branch of art. Vaſt ſums were retained in the kingdom; and foreigners began to repair to Lyons, which city was ſoon enriched by the manufacture. The ſouthern provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, derived from it, in the courſe of only ſeven years from its

Introduction of that manufacture.

Its beneficial effects.

[118] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 180, 181.

[119] Ibid. tome ii. p. 328; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 88, and p. 121.

[120] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 181.

[121] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 140, 141. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 455, 456. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 278. Chron. Sep. p. 410.

[122] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 324.

eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhment, greater profits annually, than from the joint produce of their oil, wines, and ſweetmeats, the antient and natural productions of the country [123].

Various fabricks, commenced.

Nor did Henry limit his attention to a ſingle branch of commerce. His munificence, aided by the induſtry of the nation, repaired the calamities of the three preceding reigns.

Tiſſues.

Gold and ſilver tiſſues, of different kinds, and of exquiſite beauty, were manufactured at Paris by Milaneſe workmen, whom he had induced to ſettle in the capital, under his immediate protection [124].

Gobelins tapeſtry.

The Gobelins tapeſtry, of ſuch unequalled delicacy, and ſo admired over all Europe, was begun in one of the ſuburbs of the metropolis, under the direction of artiſts from Flanders [125].

Looking-glaſſes.

Looking-glaſſes, in imitation of thoſe caſt at Venice, and which had been formerly made under the reign of Henry the Second, at St. Germain; were again undertaken with ſucceſs at Paris, and at Nevers [126].

Earthen-ware.

Earthen-ware, white and painted, was fabricated with the ſame beauty as in Italy [127]. We may infer from a paſſage in Sully, that the art of enamelling had attained before 1603, to a very conſiderable degree of perfection [128].

Crapes.

In the caſtle of Mantes upon the Seine, crapes, equal to thoſe of Bologna, were woven; and Dutch linen was begun [129].

Gilt leather.

The inferior claſſes of people in Paris, found employment in the great manufactories of the ſuburbs St. Honoré and St. James, where gilt leather for the furniture of houſes was made [130].

Steel.

Mills for cutting and ſplittling iron, which had always been done by the hand, were ſet up on the river of Eſtampes; and ſteel, which was antecedently procured from Piemont, at two-pence halfpenny, or three-pence a pound, began to be manufactured in the ſuburb of St. Vic-

[123] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 456.
[124] Chron. Sept. p. 409.
[125] Ibid. p. 409, 410. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 142. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 88, and p. 104.
[126] De Thou, ibid. Chron. Sept. ibid.
[127] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 142.
[128] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 190.
[129] Chron. Sept. p. 450. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 121.
[130] Idem, ibid.

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tor in Paris. Serres, a native of Provence, discovered a method of making ropes, and even a kind of coarse linen, with the bark of the white mulberry-tree. Ferrier, an inhabitant of the suburb St. Germain, carried to a perfection previously unknown, the art of making leaden pipes and spouts for conducting water. White lead, always imported before the reign of Henry the Fourth, at a great expence, was prepared and sold at a very moderate price[131]. Tontouchio, a Siennese gentleman, acquired a rapid fortune, by the possession of a secret for restoring to pearls their original beauty and transparency, however injured by time or accident. Such were the profits derived by him from it, that he refused a sum of above twelve hundred pounds sterling, to divulge his invention[132].

Other inventions.

Restoring pearls.

State of the peasantry.

While the middle order of citizens, employed in commerce and mechanical pursuits, advanced thus progressively in industry, wealth, and refinement; the wretched peasantry alone, chained to the soil, remained at the mercy of their superiors. During the period of the civil wars, when the authority of the crown was in a great degree subverted; the barbarities, practised by the petty tyrants, who from the battlements of their castles, pillaged and desolated the surrounding country, exceeded belief. We know that they seized, imprisoned, ransomed, and even tortured the objects of their resentment or rapacity, without dread of punishment[133]. In addition to these acts of lawless violence, the husbandman was plundered by the soldiery of both parties; while the tax-gatherer compleated his ruin, and exacted the last scanty earnings of his labour. Henry, touched with compassion for the sufferings of so oppressed a class of his subjects, endeavoured as early as the beginning of 1591, to adduce some remedy, and to procure some alleviation for their misery. By an edict published in that year, he forbad on pain of death, to enroll

Their oppression.

Edicts issued in their favour.

[131] Chron. Sept. p. 450. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 121.

[132] Idem, p. 452.

[133] Satyre Menip. vol. i. p. 98. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 354.

the

the peaſants without his permiſſion; to take their cattle, proviſions, or money; to ranſom their perſons, or to compel them to work on the fortifications, unleſs in virtue of an order ſigned by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and addreſſed to the treaſurers of France[134]. Four years afterwards, in 1595, the king iſſued a ſecond prohibition, of the ſame nature and tendency: but neither of them could eradicate a diſeaſe, inherent in the eſſence of the feudal ſyſtem, and grown to maturity by a long ſeries of war and anarchy[135]. The peaſants derived little, if any benefit, from theſe nominal regulations.

Revolt of the "Croquans."

Rendered deſperate by oppreſſion, about the middle of the year 1593, they roſe in great numbers along the banks of the Dordogne, in Guienne, and all the adjoining provinces. The name of "Croquans" was firſt given them, the derivation of which is diſputable: but afterwards they were called "Tard-aviſez," in deriſion of their taking up arms too late, when the reſt of the nation, weary with civil diſſention, deſired only peace[136]. Henry, conſcious that their complaints were juſt, obſerved with a degree of humour, that "if he "had not been a king, and that he poſſeſſed a little more leiſure, he "would have turned "Croquant" himſelf[137]." Unfortunately they began, as they have uniformly done in almoſt all inſurrections, by committing equal, or greater exceſſes, than thoſe of which they complained. As they amounted to between thirty and forty thouſand, and were furniſhed with arms, it became requiſite to diſperſe them: but the enterprize was difficult, at a time when the crown could ſpare little or no aſſiſtance for the purpoſe. During a period of more than two years, they maintained themſelves in the provinces between the Loire and the Garonne. The diſunion which ſpread among them from the difference of religion, and an attack

Their exceſſes.

Diſunion.

[134] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 353, 354.

[135] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 109.

[135] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 352. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 382. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 72.

[137] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 33.

made

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made on them by ſome cavalry, diminiſhed their numbers. Henry, for whom they appear to have profeſſed and felt the warmeſt loyalty, completed their ſubjection by liſtening to their complaints, and by remitting the arrears of taxes which they were unable to diſcharge. More fortunate than their countrymen the "Gautiers," exterminated a few years earlier, by the duke of Montpenſier, they inſenſibly ſunk into oblivion, and reſumed their original occupations [138]. The wiſdom and vigor of the government, and the paternal attention manifeſted by the king for the inferior claſſes of his people, rendered their condition, during the laſt ten years of his reign, comparatively and progreſſively happy. We may ſee innumerable inſtances of it in Sully, and in all the writers of the period.

and extinction.

Ruinous ſtate of Paris.

Paris, at the time when it was delivered up to Henry by Briſſac, in 1594, preſented in every quarter, the moſt hideous proofs of the ruin and devaſtation produced by the preceding troubles. Scarcely can that metropolis, at the preſent moment, exhibit a ſcene of greater alteration; and it is matter of curious remark, that theſe awful convulſions ſeem to viſit France almoſt periodically, at the diſtance of two centuries. A review of the French hiſtory for many ages, would tend to confirm the obſervation. At the end of the ſiege in 1590, all the monuments of learning, piety, and magnificence which had exiſted in the capital, were either deſtroyed, or polluted and defaced. The royal ornaments and regalia, preſerved in the treaſury of the abbey of St. Denis, were ſeized on by the duke of Nemours, and melted down to ſupply the wants of the League [139]. Even the jewels of the crown were ſtolen, or ſecreted, or ſold to various individuals. The gold crown of Charles the Bald, guarded as a valuable remain of the Carlovingian dynaſty of kings, was involved in the

Sale of the regalia of the crown.

[138] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 382—384. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 72, 73. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 351—356.

[139] Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 48, and p. 154.

common

common wreck [140]. So complete was the annihilation of all the paraphernalia of the regal dignity, that Cayet informs us, no part of it escaped; and at the coronation of Henry the Fourth, a new crown, sceptre, and other necessary ornaments, were made, in place of those which had been alienated or removed [141]. The Louvre, which during the troubles was entrusted to the care of one Olivier, an obscure partizan of the house of Guise, was destitute of furniture, and entirely dismantled [142]. It had been defiled by the execution of four members of the "council of sixteen," hanged in the great hall of the palace, by order of the duke of Mayenne [143].

and of the church ornaments.

The fury of rebellion did not respect even the vessels and shrines which served for sacred uses, or which contained the relics of saints and martyrs. Superstition itself could afford no protection; and they were carried to the Mint, on a promise, never accomplished, of restoring them in three months [144]. The Papal legate advised and exhorted to commit this sacrilegious act. In the course of the siege, above fifty thousand persons perished by diseases, which may be estimated at a fourth part of the population. Such was the extremity of the famine, that a species of paste, composed of human bones mixed with water, was greedily devoured, after every other species of nourishment had been exhausted. The people denominated it "Madame de Montpensier's Bread," from its having been originally recommended by her, and by Mendoza, the Spanish embassador [145]. In consequence of the mortality and putrefaction, added to the intense heats of summer, snakes of a prodigious size, and other reptiles, generated in the houses, and preyed upon the carcasses in the streets. It is impossible to doubt this fact, which is related by

Expedients to nourish the people.

Effects of the famine, and putrefaction.

[140] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 367. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 608.

[141] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 324.

[142] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 152.

[143] Conf. de Sancy, p. 277, and p. 299. Mezeray, vol. ix, p. 503. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 83, 84. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 234.

[144] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 367. Sat. Men. vol. i. p. 110. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 162, 163.

[145] Sat. Menip. vol. i. p. 109, 110. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 175—177, and p. 190. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 37.

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l'Etoile, who was himſelf in Paris at the time, and who particularizes all the circumſtances. He adds another, ſcarcely leſs extraordinary; that Panigarole, a Franciſcan monk devoted to Spain, who accompanied the legate, being conſulted by the duke of Nemours, on the ſignification of theſe venomous animals; replied, "that it was "an effect of magic, and an illuſion of the infernal ſpirit, to diſcou-"rage the zealous Catholics [146]."

Deſtruction of the ſuburbs.

The ſuburbs, which, if we may believe Villeroy, exceeded in the beauty of the buildings, and nearly equalled in ſize, the capital within the walls, were abandoned, pillaged, and deſtroyed [147]. Peaſants and cattle ſheltered themſelves in the univerſity, which became a deſert [148]. The courts of law, as well as the ſhops, were ſhut; and the principal ſtreets were covered with graſs [149]. It is ſaid, that the duke of Parma having viſited Paris in September 1590, was deeply affected at the view of ſo depopulated and melancholy a metropolis [150].

Blockade of Paris.

Nor did the horrors of famine terminate with the ſiege. During ſeveral years, from 1590 to its reduction in 1594, the royal forces continued to blockade the city, to occupy the rivers by which it is ſupplied with proviſions, and to levy contributions to the very gates [151].

Villages ruined.

All the environs were deſolated; and the villages, for many leagues on every ſide, were ſo deſtroyed, that in 1593, when the commiſſioners on the part of the Crown and the League were deſirous of fixing on a place in the vicinity of Paris for their projected conference, it was not till after a long ſearch, that they could diſcover any village ſufficiently habitable for their reception [152]. Even ſubſequent to the truce agreed on in the month of Auguſt of the ſame year, between the king and Mayenne, Henry perſiſted to exact ſuch

[146] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 38.

[147] Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 422. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 24.

[148] Sat. Men. vol. i. p. 446.

[149] Idem, ibid. and p. 107—110, and p. 155.

[150] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 467.

[151] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 229. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 116, and p. 127, 128. Sat. Men. vol. i. p. 155.

[152] Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 79. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 719. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 140.

ſevere

ſevere duties upon all commodities, particularly corn, wine, and cattle, entering the metropolis, that the Pariſians were reduced to great diſtreſs [153]. That it did not immediately recover from its ruined condition, is evident; ſince in Auguſt 1595, l'Etoile aſſures us, that a wolf ſwam acroſs the Seine from the ſouthern bank, and devoured a child in the "Greve," one of the moſt central and frequented places of Paris [154]. This fact, from inferior authority, might be thought incredible. How inſecure a reſidence it was at that time, may be inferred from the incurſions made by the garriſon of Soiſſons. The Spaniſh ſoldiery continually advanced up to the walls; and they even had the audacity to enter the riding-houſe of the Tuilleries, from which they carried off priſoners ſeveral gentlemen of quality, who, unſuſpicious of danger, were amuſing themſelves in the exerciſes of the Manege [155].

Depopulation.

Inſecurity.

During the ſpace of about twelve years, between the treaty of Vervins and the cloſe of Henry's reign, Paris roſe more beautiful out of its ruins. Tranquillity and peace, aided by the munificence of the ſovereign, and the induſtry of the inhabitants, embelliſhed the capital. Under Henry the Third, there was only one bridge acroſs the Seine, over which carriages of any kind could paſs [156]. That, denominated the "Pont neuf," had, it is true, been begun: but the calamities of the kingdom had interrupted its completion, and only two arches were finiſhed. Henry the Fourth reſumed the work, and in 1604 it was opened for paſſengers of every deſcription [157]. Another of the bridges, the "Pont aux meuniers," was ſo ruinous, that in December 1596 it tumbled to pieces, and near a hundred and ſixty perſons were ſuffocated, or drowned, by its fall [158]. The generoſity

"Pont neuf" completed.

[153] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 229.

[154] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 104.

[155] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 483.

[156] Chron. Sept. p. 447.

[157] Chron. Sept. p. 447. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 244; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 143.

[158] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 147. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 31.

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of a private citizen, Marchand, commander of the archers of the city guard, rebuilt it, on condition that it ſhould in future bear his name [159]. A quay was conſtructed along the northern bank of the river, from the arſenal to the "Greve [160]." The ſouthern ſide of the Seine began to be inhabited, and covered with buildings. Margaret of Valois reſided, and held her little court, in that quarter [161].

Other embelliſhments.

Gallery of the Louvre.

A ſhort time before his death, Henry undertook to build a handſome ſtreet, from the end of the "Pont neuf," and he had previouſly executed a far more ſplendid work, the gallery, which joins the two palaces of the Louvre and the Tuilleries. It had been planned, and the foundation laid, by Charles the Ninth. On the ground-floor, it was intended to lodge and to employ, at the expence of the crown, artiſts in every branch, from the various nations of Europe [162]. Miron, the firſt municipal magiſtrate of the metropolis, re-edified the town-hall, adorned the ſtreets with fountains, and rendered the city more commodious [163]. In this enumeration, it may not be unworthy of remark, that the "Temple," which ſerved for the priſon of the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth and his queen, was, in 1594, a fortreſs garriſoned by Spaniards; and before 1610, ſeems to have been converted by Sully, into a magazine for gunpowder [164].

The "Temple."

Defective police.

The police of Paris was exceedingly defective, during the whole period which we are reviewing. It is, nevertheleſs, clear, that precautions were adopted, and a regular aſſeſſment made upon the inhabitants, before 1609, for the purpoſe of cleanſing and paving the ſtreets [165]. But no meaſures of energy or efficacy were purſued, to render the city ſalubrious, to clear it of vagabonds and beggars, or even to ſecure perſonal ſafety. Robberies, murders, and aſſaſſi-

Murders, and robberies.

[159] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 206, 207. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 31.

[160] Chron. Sept. p. 448.

[161] Vie de Marg. p. 397.

[162] Chron. Sept. p. 448. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 217.

[163] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 335, 336.

[164] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 140; and vol. ii. tome ii. p. 4. Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 158.

[165] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 203. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 196, and p. 278.

nations,

nations, were ſo frequent, and committed with ſuch impunity, that L'Etoile ſays, in 1605, "they could not have been perpetrated more "openly in a foreſt [166]." The "Pont neuf," for many years during the time of its conſtruction, was the ſcene of nightly depredation and crimes. It was common for paſſengers to be plundered, ſtripped, and precipitated into the river [167]. Ruffians, at noon day, frequently entered houſes, and extorted money, with the dagger in their hand [168]. In the ſingle month of January 1606, above twenty dead bodies were found in the ſtreets, having on them marks of recent violence; and in ſome, the poniard ſtill remaining plunged [169]. The utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhment impoſed no reſtraint upon theſe enormities. In the hoſpitals of the metropolis, the ſick and diſeaſed appear to have been heaped together, without order or number, and to have periſhed from want of common care. Between the firſt day of January 1596, and the tenth of the enſuing month, four hundred and ſixteen perſons expired in the "Hotel Dieu," the largeſt hoſpital of Paris; the greater part, of hunger, and abſolute neceſſity [170]. In the following month of April, more than ſix hundred died in the ſame receptacle of miſery and diſeaſe [171]. Even thoſe patients who were diſcharged, were frequently turned looſe upon the town, with the plague, or other infectious diſtempers on them, which they communicated to their fellow-citizens. Two hundred at once were thus diſmiſſed, in Auguſt 1596 [172].

Bad adminiſtration of the hoſpitals.

Neither greater wiſdom nor humanity ſeem to have been manifeſted, in the proviſion made for ſubſiſting the poor, who were uſually very numerous. In May 1595, they flocked in ſuch multitudes to Paris, on account of the ſcarcity and high price of grain, as to alarm the magiſtrates, who aſſembled repeatedly, to concert proper

Poor laws.

[166] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 91, 92.
[167] Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 488.
[168] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 139; and vol. ii. p. 91, 92.
[169] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 102.
[170] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 120.
[171] Ibid. p. 117, 118, and p. 128.
[172] Ibid. p. 139.

meaſures

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measures for alleviating their neceſſities. By the public regiſters it was ſhewn, that in fifteen days, above fourteen thouſand beggars had entered the capital [173]. A conſiderable rate or tax was levied for their maintenance, on the citizens; but they returned in ſuch crowds, ſome months afterwards, that they were at length ordered, by ſound of trumpet, to quit Paris without delay [174]. The motive for this harſh decree, was the apprehenſion of their introducing and ſpreading peſtilential diſtempers. We find in 1606, that the Iriſh vagabonds and beggars, who were very numerous, became ſo troubleſome, as to give riſe to a ſtill more ſevere meaſure. They were all ſeized, put into boats on the Seine, guarded by archers, and tranſported to Rouen, there to be ſhipped for their own country. L'Etoile ſays, that they were far more expert in the profeſſion of begging, than their companions, the French; and highly renowned for taking away from families, the reproach of ſterility [175]. The troops of the city of Paris, compoſed of citizens, formed a body of about ſix thouſand infantry, independant of the archers, croſs-bowmen, and horſe, who were under the immediate direction of the municipal magiſtrates [176].

Numbers of poor,

and of beggars.

City guard.

Effect of the civil wars.

It was an enquiry which naturally awakened the curioſity, and occupied the reſearches of ſpeculative men in the ſixteenth century, to decide whether the civil wars, which deſolated France during five and thirty years, did, or did not enrich the kingdom. Problematical as it may appear, they determined the queſtion in the affirmative, on the moſt candid and impartial inveſtigation. How prodigious were the ſums of Spaniſh money, poured into France by Philip the Second, we may judge from the teſtimony of his own embaſſador, the duke of Feria; who declared in 1593, to the States convoked at Paris, that his maſter had already expended above ſix millions of ecus, or more than ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand

Immenſe ſums expended by Philip the Second.

[173] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 97, and p. 99.

[174] Ibid. p. 125, and p. 127, 128; and vol. ii. p. 98.

[175] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 115, 116.

[176] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 698.

pounds ſterling, within the laſt ſeven years [177]. Under Charles the Ninth, he had previouſly diſburſed not leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds [178]. A very inconſiderable part of this wealth found its way out of the country, in the payments made to the Swiſs and German ſtipendiaries: the reſt remained in circulation. Such was the rapid and aſtoniſhing increaſe of gold and ſilver, between 1560 and 1595, the period of the civil wars, that Brantome declares in many parts of his Memoirs, piſtoles and doubloons were more common in the end of Henry the Fourth's reign, than the ſmalleſt pieces of ſilver coin had been at the beginning of that of Charles the Ninth [179]. His teſtimony is confirmed by other writers of the ſame time.

Increaſe of gold and ſilver.

Beſides the influx of foreign riches, many internal cauſes contributed to ſwell the maſs of national ſpecie. We have ſeen, that the duke of Nemours converted into coin, the regalia of the crown, and all the jewels or decorations of the kings of France. Brantome ſays, that they were already ſo precious, as to cover the emperor Charles the Fifth with amazement at their value, when he viewed them at St. Denis, in 1539. He declared, that "they were ſufficient to pay "the ranſom of two kings [180]." All the ſhrines, relics, and votive offerings in the churches throughout the kingdom, were either plundered, and appropriated to their own uſe, by the Hugonots; or ſecreted and ſold by the eccleſiaſtics themſelves [181]. We may judge how univerſal was the pillage, when we reflect, that, except Limoges, hardly a ſingle town or city of any conſideration eſcaped being ſacked, and that the greater number were ſubjected repeatedly to that calamity [182]. An immenſe maſs of concealed, or dormant property, was ſet at liberty by the civil wars. The numerous deſcrip-

Internal ſources of wealth.

Regalia.

Sacred ornaments.

[177] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 705. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 146.

[178] Satyre Menip. vol. iii. p. 560.

[179] Brantome, Cap. Fran. vol. iii. p. 199, and p. 201, 202; and Cap. Etr. tome i. p. 34. Tavannes, p. 371.

[180] Brant. Cap. Fran. tome iii. p. 204.

[181] Ibid. 204, 205.

[182] Vie d'Epernon, vol. i. p. 339.

tion

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Wealth of individuals.

tion of men, living on their own fortunes; bankers, merchants, uſurers, and prieſts, were all plundered by one or the other party, and uſually compelled to purchaſe their lives, by a ſurrender of their hoarded gold [183]. The nobility and ſoldiery ſquandered with profuſion, the ſpoils thus acquired; and a vaſt transfer, as well as diffuſion of property, took place.

Condition of Burgundy.

Tavannes aſſerts, that the province of Burgundy, which during ſix years, from 1589 to 1595, was the theatre of unintermitted hoſtilities between the crown and the League, and which was regularly laid under contribution by both ſides; yet, far from being exhauſted, abounded in money, and would have continued ſo to do, if the war had laſted thirty years. He explains his paradox, by acquainting us, that although not leſs than a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling were annually exacted by the contending parties, from the inhabitants of the province, the money only changed hands, and returned through the ſame channels, to its firſt poſſeſſors. "The "ſoldier, ſays he, pays to the merchant and artizan, for various "commodities: they return the money to the huſbandman for wine, "bread, and forage; and it is again extorted from him by the "Gendarmes, or troops [184]." But when Henry the Fourth entered Burgundy in 1595, he impoveriſhed the country more in three months, than it had been by many years of preceding war; becauſe he carried off the money and cattle.

Vaſt reſources of France.

The principal injury, ſuſtained by France, from the long diſſenſions under four reigns, was in population, not in riches. But ſuch were in that age, and ſuch muſt ever remain, its innate reſources; ſo advantageous is its local poſition; ſo fertile its ſoil; ſo happy its climate; ſo various are its productions; and ſuch the energy, induſtry, and ingenuity of its inhabitants; that no political changes or revolutions can permanently depreſs its genius [185]. "I remember," ſays Brantome, "in

[183] Brant. Cap. Fran. tome iii. p. 199, 200.

[184] Tavannes, p. 371.

[185] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 181.

"the

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" the firſt civil wars, Rouen was carried by ſtorm, pillaged, and ſacked " during ſeveral days. Yet when Charles the Ninth and his mother " paſſed through it, about fifteen or ſixteen months afterwards, to " their aſtoniſhment, all traces of that calamity had diſappeared, and " only opulence was viſible [136]." Angouleme and Perigueux, he adds, which were inhumanly deſtroyed by the Hugonots, and ſeveral times plundered, had recovered with equal rapidity, and even become more rich than before their misfortunes [137]. It is apparent from theſe facts, that, however lamentable and deſtructive were the immediate effects of the civil and religious wars of France in the ſixteenth century, their remote conſequences were, in many points of view, beneficial. It will be the province of future hiſtorians to determine, whether the preſent ſanguinary race of republicans, who have effected the entire change of landed, and almoſt of monied property; who have ſpilt more blood than all the tyrants of antiquity; and who ſeem to emulate only the crimes of Greece and Rome; may not, like tempeſts and hurricanes, purge the moral and civil atmoſphere of France: and whether from the boſom of anarchy, infidelity, and carnage, a new and more beautiful order of events may not ariſe, as it did preciſely two centuries ago, under Henry the Fourth, in that diſtracted and depopulated country.

Reflexions.

[136] Brant. Cap. Fran. tome iii. p. 202, 203. [137] Idem, ibid.

CHAP. II.

State of the Gallican church.—Abuſes.—Seditious ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics.—Sermons.—Jubilees.—Inſtitution of new monaſtic orders.—Exile, and recall of the Jeſuits.—Influence and power of that order.—State of the Hugonots.—Policy and meaſures of Henry towards them.—Decline of the ſpirit of perſecution.—State of the parliaments, and of juriſprudence.—Venality of legal employments.—Ineffectual attempts to reform the abuſes of the law.—Formation, proceedings, and general conduct of the parliament of Paris.

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THE Gallican church, in common with all the other inſtitutions of civil and religious policy among the French, was plunged, during the period of the civil wars, in the loweſt ſtate of humiliation and depreſſion. Previous to the king's abjuration of the Proteſtant, and reſumption of the Catholic faith, the eccleſiaſtics may even be ſaid to have ſuffered, in an eſpecial degree, from the general anarchy and diſſolution of government. It muſt be ingenuouſly confeſſed, that their loyalty was put to a ſevere trial, when they were called on to pay obedience to a prince, labouring under the cenſures of the church of Rome, recently excommunicated, and avowedly the chief and protector of hereſy. Yet, under circumſtances ſo calculated to ſhake their allegiance, a very conſiderable proportion of the clergy adhered invariably to the right of ſucceſſion, in defiance of the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious age. The liberal and expanded maxims by which Henry, from the inſtant of his acceſſion, conducted himſelf, relative to the Catholics; and the readineſs which he uniformly manifeſted, to liſten with docility to the arguments in favour

Loyalty of the eccleſiaſtics.

vour of their tenets; eminently conduced to allay the apprehenſions of the timid, and to confirm the attachment of the well-diſpoſed.

Difficulties of their ſituation.

During the interval of near four years which elapſed between Henry's acceſſion, and his return to the Romiſh profeſſion, every calamity incident to rebellion and ſchiſm, afflicted the eccleſiaſtical order. Whether they obeyed the mandates of the ſovereign pontiffs, who, from Sixtus the Fifth to Clement the Eighth incluſively, were devoted to the cauſe of the League; or whether they complied with the requiſitions of the council of ſtate appointed by the crown, they were alike ſubject to ſeizure, confiſcation, and puniſhment. Renaud de Beaune, archbiſhop of Bourges, who had uniformly adhered to the king, projected as early as 1592, to terminate the conteſt between the regal and the Papal power, by entirely withdrawing France from any dependance on the Romiſh ſee. He propoſed to name a patriarch for the government and diſcipline of the Gallican church; and he aſpired himſelf to fill that eminent dignity. It does not ſeem that Henry was very averſe to the plan; but it was prevented by the exertions and remonſtrances of the young cardinal of Bourbon, who, unable, from a variety of reaſons, to occupy the poſt of patriarch in his own perſon, would not allow it to be conferred on another [1].

Propoſition, for erecting a patriarch.

Abuſes in the church.

All the abuſes, added to depravity and diſſolution of manners, which had degraded and diſhonoured the eccleſiaſtical order, under the feeble, diſſolute, or precarious adminiſtration of the three laſt princes of Valois; attained their utmoſt point of enormity, before the year 1595, from which period we may date the ſubmiſſion of the kingdom to Henry the Fourth. The impotence and neceſſities of the crown, the violence of two contending factions, and the univerſal relaxation of diſcipline, ſeemed to threaten the extinction of religion itſelf; for the purity and preſervation of which, all par-

[1] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 495—497. Davila, p. 1123, 1124.

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ties pretended to combat. Cardinal Gondi, biſhop of Paris, ſtated to Clement the Eighth in 1592, among other particulars equally ſtriking, that above forty biſhopricks were then vacant; the temporalities of which were held and received by ladies, courtiers, and ſoldiers [2]. In January 1596, the clergy aſſembled at Paris, made, by the mouth of the biſhop of Mans, the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances to the king; and earneſtly beſought his vigorous co-operation for the reform of the grievances, or diſorders of the church. They declared, that of fourteen archbiſhopricks, ſix or ſeven were deſtitute of paſtors; that from thirty to forty epiſcopal ſees were in the ſame ſituation; and that of the remainder, the greater part were occupied by perſons who either held them in truſt for others, or had obtained them by illicit and prohibited methods [3]. The abbeys appear to have been in a ſtate of ſtill greater proſtitution. In only twenty-five dioceſes, about a hundred and twenty abbies were vacant, or in the hands of gentlemen [4]. "Even children," ſay they, "who are ſtill under "the rod, and who are ſcarcely conſcious of their own exiſtence, are "appointed to the government of religious houſes [5]." They conclude by entreating the king, to forbid his military officers of every deſcription, to quarter their troops or horſes in the churches; and to abſtain from levying contributions on their property [6]. Henry, equally affected and convinced by their ſupplication, iſſued an edict conſonant to their deſire: but the abuſes were too firmly rooted to be redreſſed or eradicated by any remedies except time, and the gradual confirmation of the royal authority.

Remonſtrances of the clergy.

Improper nomination to abbeys.

Near three years afterwards, when the treaty of Vervins had reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom, the clergy having again renewed their complaints, the king replied to them in a manner equally conciliating and dignified. "I admit," ſaid he, "the exiſtence of the

Anſwer of the king.

[2] Davila, p. 1135. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 507, 508.
[3] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 592.
[4] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 593.
[5] Ibid. p. 595.
[6] Ibid. p. 596.

"abuſes;

" abuſes; but I am not the author of them: they were introduced " before I came to the crown. During the war, I have run to ex- " tinguiſh the fire wherever it blazed: now that we are in repoſe, I " will do what peace demands. I know that religion and juſtice are " the pillars and foundations of this kingdom, and if they did not " exiſt, I would re-eſtabliſh them; but by little and little, as I do in " every thing elſe. With the aſſiſtance of God, I will replace the " church in the ſame ſtate that it was a hundred years ago [7]." Henry appears to have partly fulfilled his promiſe, by nominating to the great eccleſiaſtical preferments, men eminent for learning, virtue, and talents. But the inferior benefices were, in great meaſure, abandoned to the nobility, who conſidered them as a ſpecies of hereditary property; or were conferred on military men, who ſold, mortgaged, and ſubſiſted on the revenues [8]. Far from bluſhing at theſe acts of indecent venality, they ſeem to have conſidered them as matters of courſe. " I provided my ſecond ſon," ſays the chancellor Chiverny in his Memoirs, " with four abbeys in 1596, by one " and the ſame bull from Rome, with a diſpenſation for his age, as " he was only ſeventeen years old [9]." After entering into ſome detail relative to each, he adds: " As to the abbey of St. Pere at Char- " tres, it was given by the king, during the civil wars, on the death " of the chevalier d'Aumale the abbot, to meſſieurs Roquelaure, de " Frontenac, and Bele, gentlemen in the immediate ſervice of his " majeſty. They were all three glad to procure, each a ſeparate " gratification; and I was equally ſo, to recover the abbey [10]." He tells us in another place, that he received from Gabrielle d'Etrées, the biſhoprick of Chartres, out of the revenues of which, he paid a

Benefices, held by gentlemen.

Examples.

[7] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 160—163. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 197, 198. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 220, 221.

[8] Satyre Men. vol. iii. p. 476. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 171, 172, and p. 394; and tome ii. p. 36; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 198, and p. 201. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 340.

[9] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 377, 378.

[10] Ibid. p. 380.

penſion

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penſion of between three and four hundred pounds a year to the celebrated hiſtorian De Thou [11].

Church preferments,

Even Hugonots were admitted, by a ſingular infraction of decorum, as well as contempt of religion, to occupy, and to nominate to Catholic preferments [12]. If any thing can increaſe the ſurprize natural at ſuch abuſes, it is, to ſee that the popes themſelves, inſtead of repreſſing, countenanced and facilitated their commiſſion. Sully, an obſtinate and incorrigible heretic, whom neither his ſovereign's example nor entreaties could ever induce to change his opinions; yet poſſeſſed benefices to the amount of above eighteen hundred pounds ſterling a year. He ſays, that "he named the eccleſiaſtics "who held them, not only with the permiſſion of ſucceſſive pon- "tiffs, but that the bulls were gratuitouſly expedited on his requeſt, "from the Roman chancery [13]." In the enumeration of his property and poſſeſſions, he expreſsly ſtates, that for four abbies, publickly ſold by him, with valid Papal bulls iſſued for the purpoſe, he received a ſum conſiderably exceeding nine thouſand pounds ſterling [14]. Brantome, who is by no means the panegyriſt of Henry the Fourth, and who ſeems, on every occaſion, partial to his predeceſſors of the family of Valois; yet confers on him the warmeſt encomiums for rewarding ſo many brave French gentlemen, by the donations of abbeys and eccleſiaſtical preferments. It is exceedingly entertaining to ſee the manner in which he appreciates and ſpeaks of the king's conduct on this point. He attributes it to his wiſdom, beneficence, and juſt affection for a nobility who had bled in his cauſe. "It is poſ- "ſible too," adds Brantome, "that he may have acted thus, from the "inſpiration of thoſe generous ſhades and ſpirits, who, compaſſionate "of their unfortunate deſcendants, have propelled the king to make "them compenſation for the riches formerly laviſhed by themſelves

occupied by Hugonots.

Teſtimony of Brantome.

[11] Chiverny, vol. ii. p 55—57.
[12] Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 401, 402.
[13] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 415.
[14] Ibid. p. 417, 418.

" on the church [15]." We muſt admit that Brantome, though a zealous Catholic, had imbibed no ſuperſtitious reverence, nor blind veneration, for the eccleſiaſtical order.

Seditious declamations, from the pulpit.

The ſpirit of ſedition, which had ſo ſtrongly characterized and pervaded the clergy, regular and ſecular, during the reign of Henry the Third, continued long to animate them under his ſucceſſor. The pulpit was made the vehicle of rebellion, and every anathema which rage or malice could dictate, was uttered by the preachers. We can with difficulty conceive the effect of theſe invectives and declamations, upon an illiterate and ſuperſtitious audience, accuſtomed to inſurrection, and animated almoſt to frenzy againſt hereſy. The groſſeſt epithets, as well as the moſt indecent ſcurrility or ribaldry, were not ſpared; and the populace was on many occaſions, openly excited to aſſaſſination and regicide. The holy ſcriptures were ranſacked and perverted, in order to furniſh arguments and examples of crimes. The names of Holofernes, Moab, and Nero, were applied to Henry the Fourth. Commolet, one of the popular preachers, declaiming in the church of St. Bartholomew, at Chriſtmas 1593, before a numerous audience of Pariſians; after exalting with extravagant eulogiums, the murder of Henry the Third by Clement, thus addreſſed them. " We muſt have an Aöd! We muſt " have an Aöd! Let him be a monk, a ſoldier, a ſutler, or a ſhep- " herd, no matter which [16]." Even the king's abjuration neither mollified, nor diminiſhed their fury. Boucher, curate of St. Benedict's church at Paris, pronounced nine diſcourſes, on the pretended and falſe converſion of Henry of Bourbon, in the ſame year; and he ſoon afterwards printed them, with a dedication to the papal legate, the cardinal of Placentia [17]. Guarin, a Savoyard Cordelier, nearly at that time, exhorted his flock to " addreſs their ſupplications

Commolet's diſcourſe.

Boucher.

Guarin.

[15] Brantome, vol. i. Cap. Fran. p. 263, 264.

[16] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 383, and p. 385. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 251.

[17] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 35.

" to

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"to God, that he would not permit the pope, who was always conducted by the Holy Ghoſt, and who could never err in the faith, "to be touched with Henry's ſubmiſſions, or to grant him abſolution[18]." We may ſee in De Thou, every particular of the attempt of Ridicoux, a Dominican friar, to aſſaſſinate the king in 1599. He was expreſsly ſuborned, employed, and enjoined to perpetrate this flagitious act by Malvezzi, the Papal nuntio at Bruſſels[19].

The pontifical power itſelf, which diffuſed ſuch terror in that age, was nevertheleſs, incapable of impoſing ſilence on the clergy of the League. Aubry, curate of St. Andrew's at Paris, preaching on the 5th of September 1590, announced the death of Sixtus the Fifth, as a miraculous interpoſition of Providence. "God," added he, "has delivered us from a wicked and temporizing pope. If he had "lived longer, you would have been much ſurprized to have heard "him preached againſt in Paris: but it muſt have been done[20]." It was common to exhort, and to compel the audience to lift up their hands, in token of approbation and obedience[21]. Nor did the inſolence of the eccleſiaſtics from the pulpit, terminate with the exiſtence of the League, and the cauſe of rebellion. It continued to the end of Henry's reign, in defiance of every effort made by the crown and the parliaments, to impoſe a reſtraint on ſo dangerous an engine of ſedition[22]. The vices, weakneſſes, modes, and meaſures of the great, were, by turns, the ſubject of their reprehenſion or abuſe. Paris was divided between contending preachers, who ſtrove to gain, and to retain the aſcendant over the populace[23]. Dreſs was a frequent, and fertile theme for their comments. Suffren, a Jeſuit, declaiming in the church of "Notre Dame," on the 9th of March 1610, againſt the luxury and immodeſty of females in that article; obſerved, that

Aubry.

Ineffectual endeavours to ſuppreſs it.

Suffren.

[18] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 35.
[19] Ibid. vol. xiii. p. 417—423.
[20] Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la Ligue, liv. iv. Satyre Men. vol. ii. p. 207.
[21] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 458, 459.
[22] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 9, 10; and vol. ii. p. 133.
[23] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 6, and p. 15, 16. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 86.

"there

"there was not a single coquet in Paris, however obscure or insig-
"nificant, who did not shew her bosom, in imitation of Margaret of
"Valois [24]." Gonthieri, another favourite preacher, only a short time before Henry's assassination, unrestrained by any consideration for his person or dignity, ventured to apostrophize him in a manner the most indecorous. The king, accompanied by the marchioness of Verneuil his mistress, having entered the church; "How long,
"Sire," exclaimed Gonthieri, "will you come here, surrounded
"with women, as in a seraglio"?" It does not appear that any punishment was inflicted for so flagrant a breach of respect towards the sovereign. Gonthieri.

After the submission of the metropolis to Henry in 1594, many of the priests and monks not only refused to pray for him publickly, but they denied absolution to all such as followed the royal party. The exhortations of the archbishop of Bourges, accompanied by several eminent prelates, were ineffectual to alter their conduct; till the rector and members of the university of Paris concurred in the same sentiment, and threatened the refractory ecclesiastics with exemplary punishment [26]. Even as late as 1606, not a breviary or missal in all France, contained the accustomed prayer for the king; and it became necessary for the various parliaments of the kingdom, to enjoin, and compel its insertion, under severe penalties [27].

The nature of oral confession was regarded as so sacred, that it superseded and extinguished all moral obligations, as well as every duty due from the subject to the State. Not even the preservation of the life of the sovereign from the murderous knife of an assassin, was supposed to justify, in the opinions of ecclesiastics, the disclosure of secrets entrusted to them in the confessional chair. It is impossible to prove and exemplify this assertion so forcibly, as in the circum- Secresy attached to oral confession.

[24] Vie de Marg. p. 401. Note.
[25] Le Grain, liv. viii. p. 432.
[26] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 149—151.
[27] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 119, 120.

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ſtances attending Barriere's deſign of killing Henry the Fourth. That fanatic had conſulted, on the rectitude of his determination, a prieſt, and father Seraphin a Dominican monk. The laſt mentioned perſon, ſhocked at the intention of Barriere, and unable to convince him of its deteſtable tendency, anticipated the crime, and ſent intelligence to the court, in conſequence of which the criminal was ſeized, and put to death [28]. The king having been informed erroneouſly, that Barriere, inſtead of ſimply conſulting Seraphin on the propriety of the act, had communicated it to him in confeſſion; ſaid to the monk, when he was ſoon afterwards preſented to him by Villeroy, "My good father, Barriere had revealed to you his wicked "intention in confeſſion, had he not?" The Dominican, ſomewhat agitated, inſtantly replied, "Sire, do not imagine it; I would "not have divulged it in that caſe, for any thing in this world! I "know of what conſequence is the ſeal of the ſacrament of confeſ- "ſion, for the glory of God, the good of the church, and the ſafety "of individuals. Barriere only propoſed to me his intention, by "way of aſking my advice and opinion [29]. We muſt admit that it was impoſſible to avow more unequivocally his reſolution, rather to have permitted Barriere to murder the king, than to have violated the ſecrecy attached to confeſſion. Such was the ferocious and miſguided fanaticiſm of the period. The civil tribunals, however, entertained very different ſentiments on the ſubject, and would unqueſtionably have conſidered Seraphin as an acceſſory and accomplice of Barriere.

Veneration for the apoſtolic ſee.

How ſuperſtitious a veneration was ſtill preſerved, at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, for the inſtitutions of the apoſtolic ſee, and how generally it prevailed throughout all orders among the French, we may judge from the incredible number of devotees, who repaired to Rome in the year of Jubilee 1600. Cayet

[28] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 238, 239. [29] Ibid. p. 241.

ſays,

ſays, that twenty-four thouſand were preſent at its opening, and that in the courſe of the year, not leſs than three hundred thouſand of both ſexes, made the long and perilous journey over the Alps, to reach the holy city. Clement the Eighth ſhed tears of joy, and expreſſed the moſt fervent ſatisfaction, at ſuch proofs of zeal and Catholiciſm [30]. This aſtoniſhing eagerneſs of the French to gain indulgences, is the more ſingular, when we know that Spain, a country proverbially bigotted and obedient to the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, only furniſhed about ſix hundred pilgrims in the ſame year [31]. Henry, who, in order to prove the ſincerity of his converſion to the Catholic faith, omitted none of the external ceremonies which it enjoins, accompanied the queen in 1601 to Orleans, where indulgences, by the Papal permiſſion and authority, were accorded to all who ſhould viſit the church of the holy croſs [32]. That the pontifical treaſury derived no inconſiderable advantage from the crowds who eagerly flocked to the antient capital of the world on theſe occaſions, is evident from the frequent renewal of jubilees, upon the moſt trifling pretexts. In 1608, Paul the Fifth inſtituted and celebrated one, the oſtenſible object of which was to implore the Divine aſſiſtance for uniting the Chriſtian princes, and for extirpating hereſy [33]. It ſeems to have totally failed in accompliſhing either of thoſe ſalutary ends.

Prodigious concourſe of French, to the Jubilee.

Advantages derived from them, by the popes.

As if France, at the concluſion of the ſixteenth century, was not ſufficiently provided with monaſtic orders of either ſex, five new ones were introduced and eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, between 1596 and the end of the reign under our review. The "Recollets" led the way, and obtained a footing, not without difficulty, and after many conteſts with the Cordeliers. They followed the rule of St. Francis, and were mendicants in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the term [34],

Eſtabliſhment of new monaſtic orders.

"Recollets."

[30] Chron. Sept. p. 192.
[31] Idem, ibid.
[32] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 274, 275.
[33] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 185.
[34] Chron. Sept. p. 457. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 86—90.

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Mary of Medecis, ſoon after her arrival from Italy, introduced and ſettled the "Fratri ignoranti," under her immediate patronage. The title aſſumed by them, originated in their modeſty, and did not prevent their attaining to very conſiderable knowledge, peculiarly in pharmacy. Their inſtitution even promiſed ſome active and beneficial exertions for ſociety; as, beſides praying for the ſouls of the departed, they profeſſed to lodge the traveller, to attend the ſick, to furniſh them with medicines, and to perform the rites of ſepulture [35]. Touloufe, a city recorded for its ſuperſtition, founded the "Feuillantines" within its walls: a female order, into which the young and beautiful marchioneſs of Belle Iſle ſoon afterwards entered [36]. Touched with ſo exemplary a renunciation of worldly vanity, her ſiſter the ducheſs of Longueville, aſpired to emulate and to exceed the pattern of mortification exhibited by the marchioneſs. Not content with ſimply immuring herſelf in a cloiſter, ſhe deſired to become a foundreſs. Her imagination, heated and diſordered by peruſing the legend of St. Thereſa, a Spaniſh lady who had inſtituted the order of the bare-footed "Carmelites," impelled her to effect the introduction of thoſe nuns into France. Her enthuſiaſm ſpurned all impediments, and ſurmounted every obſtacle. Five nuns were brought from Caſtile to Paris, by a ſolemn delegation appointed for the purpoſe; and a convent was ſoon opened for their reception [37].

"Fratri ignoranti."

"Feuillantines."

"Carmelites."

Louiſa of Lorrain, widow of Henry the Third, as ſome conſolation for not having perpetuated the crown in the family of Valois, projected to ſecure a celeſtial diadem for herſelf, by giving birth to a new religious order, of which ſhe meant to become a member. Death anticipated her pious purpoſe, which devolved on her ſiſter-in-law, the ducheſs of Mercœur. She procured the Papal permiſſion for founding the "Capucines." As it was, nevertheleſs, indecent

"Capucines."

[35] Chron. Sept. p. 457, 458. [36] Idem, ibid. [37] Idem, p. 458, 459.

and

and improper that females ſhould, in their own perſons, ſolicit eleemoſinary donations, the obligation of begging for them was impoſed on their brethren the Capuchins. But thoſe holy fathers, juſtly conceiving that it was an employment ſufficient to provide ſubſiſtence for themſelves from the voluntary benevolence of mankind, refuſed to take on their ſhoulders the additional burthen of ſupporting the new ſiſterhood. It required the peremptory injunctions and interference of the holy ſee, to ſurmount their repugnance, and to procure their ſubmiſſion to ſo harſh a mandate [38].

Jeſuits.

All theſe minor inſtitutions of ſuperſtition were ſwallowed up and loſt in the fame of the Jeſuits. That celebrated order, which owed its formation to Ignatius Loyola about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and which, after attracting the attention of mankind during more than two hundred years, has by a ſort of common conſent, been ſuppreſſed in our own time, had penetrated into France under the reign of Henry the Second. Their Spaniſh origin; their devotion to Philip the Second; the unqualified obedience profeſſed by them to the commands of the ſee of Rome; and the genius or ſpirit of the ſociety itſelf; had nevertheleſs awakened the jealous attention of the parliament of Paris towards all their proceedings. During the exiſtence of the League, they had given the moſt unequivocal proofs of their adherence to the views of the court of Madrid; and they had not ſubmitted to Henry the Fourth till all further reſiſtance was vain [39]. Soon after the reduction of Paris in 1594, the univerſity of that capital commenced a proſecution againſt the order at the bar of the parliament, and demanded their expulſion from France, as emiſſaries of Spain, and traitors to the State [40]. The clergy, and in particular the curates of the metropolis, irritated at the interference of the Jeſuits, who by addreſs had inſinuated themſelves into a number of families, and ſupplanted the curates in the lucrative employment

Their diſloyalty.

Univerſity of Paris demands their expulſion.

[38] Chron. Sept. p. 459.
[39] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 151.
[40] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 378—387.

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of preaching, and of receiving confeſſions, joined in the accuſation. The cauſe was argued during ſeveral days; and the utmoſt eloquence was exerted by Arnauld and Dolé, as counſel for the univerſity and the clergy. Duret diſplayed equal talents in defending the Jeſuits; and after long debates on the part of the judges, the final deciſion was poſtponed [41].

Proceedings againſt the order.

Before the cloſe of the year 1594, Henry was ſtabbed by Chatel in the mouth; and that aſſaſſin, who had received the rudiments of his education under the Jeſuits, at the college of Clermont in Paris, having been interrogated, though he diſcharged the order of all participation in the attempt, yet the parliament involved them in the penalties of his ſentence [42]. By an act of unjuſtifiable and tyrannical authority, Guignard, one of the ſociety, a man of learning and of eminence in his profeſſion, was executed for only having in his cloſet ſome manuſcript writings, of a tendency inimical to kingly government, and defamatory of Henry the Third. He ſuffered not only with conſtancy, but with heroiſm, amidſt the inſults of the populace [43]. The parliament, profiting of the fermentation and animoſity excited by the king's recent danger, inſtantly iſſued a peremptory order, commanding the Jeſuits to quit France in fifteen days, on pain of death. They obeyed, in all the provinces ſubject to the juriſdiction of the parliament of Paris, as well as in thoſe of Rouen and of Dijon. It appears that at this time, their numbers in the capital amounted to no more than thirty-ſeven: but the ſuperior talents or induſtry which they diſplayed in the education of youth, excited the enmity of the other eccleſiaſtics, while it rendered their loſs regretted by a conſiderable part of the community [44]. Not ſatisfied with baniſhing them, the parliament declared them corruptors

Guignard's puniſhment.

Exile of the Jeſuits.

[41] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 241—274. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 337—339. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 33—35. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 378—406.

[42] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 67.

[43] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 346—348. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 72—74.

[44] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 75, 76.

of youth, disturbers of the public repose, and enemies of the king and of the state. All their property was seized, and sequestered to pious uses. A pyramid, commemorative of Chatel's crime, and on which inscriptions dishonoring to the Jesuits were engraven, erected in the center of Paris, seemed to immortalize their infamy [45]. Throughout the whole of this transaction, which unquestionably carries with it the marks of injustice and precipitation, the king seems to have been passive, and to have taken no part, either in behalf of the persecuted society of Jesus, or in their proscription and condemnation.

Pyramid erected.

Such nevertheless was the attachment felt for them; and so eminent did the services which they rendered in the education of youth, appear to the parliaments of Bourdeaux and of Toulouse, that they refused to concur in the execution of the sentence issued at Paris. On the contrary, throughout all the provinces between the Garonne and the Rhone, the society was protected, retained possession of their colleges, and suffered none of the penalties or privations contained in the decree of 1594 [46]. It was in vain that the parliament of Paris, indignant at so contemptuous an infraction of their orders, published new and reiterated prohibitions to shelter or maintain them in any part of the French monarchy [47]. These impotent marks of resentment were treated with disregard; and the parliament of Toulouse opposed to them counter decrees, forbidding any molestation of the persons or effects of the Jesuits. It is not less singular than true, that the crown took no measure to support the one or the other sentence; and by a destiny equally uncommon and capricious, while the order was persecuted in one part of the kingdom, it was honored and protected in the adjoining provinces [48]. In this equivocal state they remained

Attachment to the Jesuits,

and protection of them,

in the southern provinces.

[45] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 339—342. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 347—349. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 432—437. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 337. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 191.

[46] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 350.

[47] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 158—161.

[48] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 166—169. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 221—223. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 5, 6, and p. 26. Chron. Sept. p. 434. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 195.

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mained during ſeveral years: but even under a partial exile and proſcription, ſo great was the augmentation of their numbers, that at a general aſſembly of the order, held in May 1603 at Bourdeaux, they exceeded fifteen hundred [49]. Many Spaniards were aſſerted to have mixed among them in diſguiſe: it may however be juſtly doubted, whether malignity had not a larger ſhare than truth in the accuſation. It is unqueſtionable, that their ſuperior facility in the ſcience of inſtructing youth, had attracted to their ſeminaries the ſons of all the principal nobility in the provinces of Languedoc and Guienne [50].

Their numbers.

Many cauſes contributed to procure their recall to the metropolis, and their complete re-eſtabliſhment in all the rights or poſſeſſions of which they had been deprived. The interceſſions of Clement the Eighth; the ſervices rendered by cardinal Tolet, one of their members, in facilitating and accelerating the king's abſolution at Rome; the favour and good offices of various individuals about the court; laſtly, the magnanimous oblivion of injuries which diſtinguiſhed Henry the Fourth, or, if we may believe a ſevere, though penetrating writer, his apprehenſion of falling a victim to the revenge of ſo powerful and vindictive a ſociety [51]. The remonſtrances of the parliament of Paris were over-ruled and ſilenced; all their confiſcated revenues were reſtored to the order; and the pyramid that eternized their participation in the crime of Chatel, was demoliſhed as a ſort of atonement to their innocence [52]. How rapidly they advanced in power after their return, and with what perſeverance, as well as malice, they ventured to attack the miniſters whom they conceived to be inimical to the grandeur of the ſociety, we may ſee in the Memoirs of Sully [53]. Even the circumſtances intended to depreſs and humiliate them, conduced to their elevation. One of their members

Cauſes of their recall.

Reſtoration of their property.

Their progreſs.

[49] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 241.

[50] Ibid. p. 242.

[51] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p 539. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 298—300. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 192—196.

[52] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 300—312.

[53] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 329—332.

having

having been enjoined to attend conſtantly the perſon of the ſovereign, in order to anſwer for the obedience and good deportment of his brethren, they were enabled thereby to claim, to acquire, and to retain the employment of confeſſor to the king. It is needleſs to ſtate the advantages reſulting from the poſſeſſion of ſuch a poſt, or the aſcendant which it naturally conferred over a weak, a timid, or a ſuperſtitious prince.

Power of the order,

During the remainder of the reign under our review, their influence was progreſſive; and Henry, from whatever motive, may may be ſaid to have oppreſſed them with benefits. Colleges, ſchools, and eſtabliſhments of every deſcription were laviſhed on the order [54]. The clergy of France, as a collective body, was compelled in 1605, to furniſh the Jeſuits with no leſs a ſum than fifty thouſand crowns, towards the conſtruction of their celebrated church at La Fleche in Anjou [55]. Three years afterwards, by command of the government, they were re-eſtabliſhed throughout the principality of Bearn [56]. It is not a little curious to reflect, that as the laſt and greateſt proof of their inſinuation, they obtained from Henry a promiſe of his heart to be delivered to them after his deceaſe. The engagement was fulfilled; and fifteen days ſubſequent to his aſſaſſination, that monarch's heart was ſolemnly conſigned to their care, conveyed by a deputation of their order to La Fleche, and there depoſited [57]. We muſt at leaſt be compelled to admit the talents, if we do not recognize the virtue, of the ſociety. In 1610 they enjoyed high conſideration, encreaſing reputation, and augmenting revenues. The moſt diſtinguiſhed youth of France were their pupils, and became their protectors. Previous to their exile in 1594, during the courſe of about thirty years which had then elapſed ſince they firſt began to open ſeminaries, more than fifty thouſand young men had received

and inſinuation.

Their ſtate at the cloſe of this reign.

[54] Journ. d'Hen. IV., tome ii. p. 204.
[55] Conf. de Sancy, p. 123.
[56] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 161.
[57] Ibid. p. 167, 168.

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their education from the Jeſuits[58]. It ſeems impoſſible to doubt that their mode of inſtruction was, as they maintained to be the fact, far ſuperior to the ſyſtem in uſe among the other eccleſiaſtics; or that the voluntary preference given them as preceptors, by a whole nation, was a juſt tribute to their capacity and learning.

Their ſkill in educating youth.

Hugonots.

The Hugonots, at every period of the reign of Henry the Fourth, from its commencement to its concluſion, were objects of his conſtant and anxious attention. Their numbers, enthuſiaſm, and reſources, rendered them not only reſpectable, but formidable. It is indiſpenſable, in order not to leave the picture of France at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century incomplete, to trace with accuracy, though with brevity, the leading features of Henry's policy and conduct towards this claſs of his ſubjects. As early as 1589, even before the death of his predeceſſor, he had found it expedient to revoke a conceſſion made by him to the Hugonots in the preceding year; namely, a permiſſion to erect ſix chambers, or courts of juſtice, in ſix of the principal cities of the party. He had only granted them ſo dangerous a privilege, with a view to avert a greater calamity, their chuſing a foreign prince for protector[59]. We can ſcarcely doubt, that the moſt clear-ſighted and diſcerning among the Proteſtants, had early foreſeen, and were fully prepared for the event of his abjuration, as ſooner or later unavoidable. Sully, in his Memoirs, admits its expediency, and ſeems, at leaſt negatively, to have adviſed its execution[60]. D'Aubigné alone of all Henry's followers, informs us that he ventured to offer him a very oppoſite counſel. It was no other than to remain firm in his faith, and to ſieze on all the property of the monaſtic orders, in imitation of Henry the Eighth; leaving to the ſecular clergy their poſſeſſions undiminiſhed. He pretended to prove by accurate calculations, that the wealth thus ſequeſtered would enable the crown to diminiſh one third of the taxes;

Policy of Henry towards them.

Advice of D'Aubigné to the king.

[58] Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 546.
[59] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 362. Conf. de Sancy, p. 382.
[60] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 107.

to maintain three armies of a hundred thouſand men, and a hundred cannon each; to provide ample garriſons; to pay the military officers; and to lay up near a hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling annually [61]. It is difficult to ſay, whether we are moſt inclined to admire ſo bold and maſculine a plan, as one of the moſt ſublime conceptions of a vigorous mind, or to condemn it as viſionary and chimerical. A propoſition nearly ſimilar, as far as it reſpected the monaſtic orders, had been made under Henry the Third in 1581, by an anonymous writer [62]. The ſolicitations of Gabrielle d'Etrées, and the conviction which Henry the Fourth felt of its danger and impracticability, induced him to prefer the alternative of embracing the Catholic religion.

Reflexions on it.

From this period, the Hugonots no longer regarded him as other than a concealed enemy, and an apoſtate; though he ſtrove by careſſes, by excuſes, and by promiſes, to retain, or to recover their affections. Early in 1595, while his affairs might ſtill be conſidered as very critical, he compelled the parliament of Paris to regiſter and to publiſh a temporary edict in their favour, renewing that of Poitiers granted them by his predeceſſor in 1577. It was not carried through the parliament without violent debates, extreme repugnance, and only by a ſmall majority of ſix votes, notwithſtanding the perſonal ſolicitation and exertions of the king [63]. Far from ſatisfying or conciliating his Proteſtant ſubjects, they exhibited marks of diſcontent, complained of his ingratitude, and began to ſeek for protectors againſt the power of the crown. Henry having deprived them of the ſupport of a prince of the blood, by bringing to court, and educating in the Catholic faith the young prince of Condé; the dukes of la Tremouille and of Bouillon ſucceſſively and ſeparately aſpired to that dangerous eminence. Many of their chiefs retired to

Temporary edict in favor of the Hugonots.

Complaints of that body.

[61] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 292. Conf. de Sancy, p. 372, and p. 374.

[62] Conf. de Sancy, p. 375.

[63] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 346—348. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 81—86.

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They abandon Henry,

their caſtles in the provinces. Synods or aſſemblies were held for the purpoſe of deliberating on the meaſures to be purſued for their common ſafety; and the party remained in a ſtate of ſullen alienation. Even the capture of Amiens by the Spaniards, the danger of the monarchy, and the preſſing ſolicitations of the king himſelf, who conjured them not to abandon him in a moment of ſuch juſt apprehenſion, were ineffectual to induce them to repair to the royal ſtandard. About fifteen hundred Hugonots only obeyed the ſummons, and reſcued their brethren from the imputation of totally deſerting their antient maſter in his greateſt diſtreſs [64]. The far larger number of the reformed continued to arm, more as it was believed with an intent to attack, than to ſupport the crown [65]. The valour, conſtancy, and fortune of Henry, aided by various circumſtances, enabled him nevertheleſs to retake Amiens, and ultimately to give peace to France.

at the ſiege of Amiens.

Edict of Nantes.

Wearied by the ſolicitations of the Proteſtants, and fearful that deſpair might precipitate them on ſome violent reſolution, the king granted them ſoon afterwards, at Nantes, that celebrated and permanent edict, under which they enjoyed for near ninety years, protection and tranquillity. Every civil, religious, and political right, conſiſtent with the preſervation of the Catholic faith and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, was conceded by it to the Hugonots. They were rendered capable of holding and exerciſing all employments in the law, the army, or the ſtate. A court, denominated "the chamber "of the edict," was created in the parliament of Paris, for the trial of cauſes in which they were concerned, either as plaintiffs or defendants. Similar regulations were framed in all the provincial parliaments [66]. We may ſee in De Thou, with what difficulty a law of ſuch conſequence to the general tranquillity of the kingdom was

Privileges accorded by it.

[64] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 459.
[65] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 703.
[66] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 225—236. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 373—375. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 123, 124. Davila, p. 1336, 1337.

adopted

adopted and promulgated, at the reiterated and peremptory command of the ſovereign [67].

Arts of corruption.

Notwithſtanding theſe proofs of his affection and care, Henry found it requiſite to have recourſe to the arts of corruption; and to purchaſe by pecuniary gratifications, the leaders of a party, who were neither to be ſubdued by violence, nor to be conciliated by careſſes. It was with this ſilent and imperceptible, but effectual weapon, that he diſarmed their rage, diſperſed their aſſemblies, and rendered ineffectual their cabals. All the eminent reformed clergy and magiſtrates, as well as many of the principal Hugonot nobility, were penſioners of the court [68]. Even the inferior inſtruments were not forgotten; and Tavannes aſſures us that the moſt inſignificant individuals among them, who were deemed capable of giving information, received regular ſtipends [69]. Above fifty thouſand crowns a year were conſtantly allotted to ſo important a branch of ſecret ſervice [70]. Henry did not ſcruple to own to d'Aubigné in confidence, that a man high in the counſels of the Proteſtants, and of one of the greateſt families in France, ſerved him in the capacity of a ſpy, and revealed to government all their machinations, for ſo inconſiderable a ſalary as about ſixty pounds ſterling a year [71]. The duke of la Tremouille alone, appears to have been inacceſſible to all the efforts made to corrupt his fidelity and adherence. He rejected with firmneſs every offer, however lucrative or flattering [72]. His death, which took place in 1604, added to the ſubmiſſion of the duke of Bouillon two years later, ſeemed to diſarm the party of which they were the leaders, and to lay them at the feet of the crown: yet far from relaxing his vigilance, the king's precautions and apprehenſions ſtrengthened as he advanced in life.

Sums expended by Henry,

to gain the Hugonots.

[67] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 375—386.

[68] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 140—142, and p. 148. Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 559, 560. Davila, p. 1334—1336.

[69] Tavannes, p. 395.

[70] Idem, ibid.

[71] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 150, 151.

[72] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 454, 455.

We

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His converſation with d'Aubigné.

We may judge how ſtrongly he reſented, as well as dreaded, the partiality entertained for thoſe chiefs, by the curious and intereſting converſation between Henry and d'Aubigné, which that writer, with his uſual freedom, has tranſmitted to us in his Memoirs. It conveys a beautiful picture of the frankneſs with which the antient ſervants and followers of the king, ventured to diſcloſe to him their thoughts; and it proves not leſs the generoſity and beneficence of his character, which overbore all conſiderations of intereſt or policy. D'Aubigné had irritated his maſter by the inflexibility of his adherence to the Hugonots, and by his attempts to oppoſe the influence of government in their aſſemblies. Henry, as he was hunting in the vicinity of Paris, entered into converſation with him on theſe points; and after excuſing his paſt conduct as the reſult of good intention, endeavoured to attach him to the court by an honorable and advantageous propoſal. He then embraced d'Aubigné, leaving him to reflect on what had paſſed, and purſued his diverſion. "I followed him," ſays the hiſtorian, "and having overtaken him, I ſaid to him; 'Sire, when "'I look in your countenance, I reſume my former liberties and "'boldneſs. Open three buttons of your waiſtcoat, and when I ſee "'yourt heart, do me the favour to tell me what it is that has moved "'you to hate me.' The king turning pale, as he uſually did when "he ſpoke with emotion, anſwered me; 'You have loved the duke "'of la Tremouille too well: you knew that I deteſted him; and "'yet you did not ceaſe to continue to him your affection.'— "'Sire,' replied I, 'I have been brought up at your majeſty's feet; "'and I there learnt betimes, not to abandon perſons in affliction, "'overwhelmed by a ſuperior power. Approve in me that appren-"'ticeſhip of virtue which I have paſſed in your own company.' "My anſwer was followed by a ſecond embrace which my maſter "gave me, ordering me at the ſame time to retire"." Notwithſtanding,

[73] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 149—152.

ſtanding, however, this ebullition of kindneſs, the king finding d'Aubigné continue his dangerous or ſeditious efforts in favour of the reformed religion and adherents, gave orders to Sully to arreſt, and confine him in the Baſtile. The command was on the point of being executed, when d'Aubigné averted it by going to court and demanding a penſion [74].

Sully was made governor of Poitou, in order to watch over and to repreſs any tendency to inſurrection throughout that extenſive province, where the reformed religion had numerous adherents [75]. The ſlighteſt ſymptom of diſcontent among the Hugonots excited more alarm in Henry's mind, than all the menaces or preparations of Philip the Third [76]. His wiſdom and moderation retained them within the bounds of obedience, to the termination of his reign.

State of the Hugonots,

At that period, neither their numbers nor reſources, military and pecuniary, were in any conſiderable degree diminiſhed from the point to which they had attained at the death of Henry the Third. Some few apoſtates, induced by the example of their prince, had, it is true, embraced the Catholic faith: but ſuch inſtances had rather tended to excite contempt than emulation, and do not ſeem to have met with great encouragement or reward from the king [77]. Notwithſtanding, however, the apparent ſtrength and forces of the Proteſtants, the baſis of their civil exiſtence as a party, was undermined and ſhaken. A period of twenty years had elapſed, ſince the ſword had been avowedly drawn between the followers of the two religions. The Hugonots were deſtitute of any chief among the princes of the blood, and they were divided among each other. The magiſtrates and people were jealous of the nobility, and gold had found its way to their moſt ſecret deliberations. Perſecution had ſubſided; and a moſt beneficial, though an inviſible and gradual change, had ſoftened the rancour of antient animoſity. We can ſcarcely conceive how

at Henry's death.

[74] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 161—163.
[75] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 182—189.
[76] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 212—214.
[77] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 111, 112.

vaſt

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Change in the human mind, on religious concerns.

vaſt was this alteration in the minds of men, and in the modes of thinking, between 1589 and 1610. Such was the deteſtation of the Catholics towards the Hugonots who fought under the ſame banners at the former period, that even the preſence of their common maſter and ſovereign could not reſtrain it within any limit.

Intolerance at Dieppe,

It is difficult to believe, if we did not know it from an eye-witneſs, that after the memorable combat at Arques, the king having aſſiſted in his own lodgings, together with a number of his officers, at the exerciſes of religion, the Catholic Switzers of his army, led on by the duke of Montpenſier, a prince of the royal family, aſſembled in order to interrupt their devotions. Thoſe who chanced to arrive late, were outraged and wounded by the ſoldiery. Several of them entered the apartment, all over blood, and demanded vengeance for ſo unprovoked an inſult. Henry, his eyes ſuffuſed with tears, yet repreſſed his indignation, quitted the room in which he had met to offer up his prayers to Heaven, and followed by all the aſſiſtants, repaired to a meadow without the gates of Dieppe, there to reſume and finiſh their interrupted rites[78]. It is difficult not to admire ſo magnanimous a triumph over his juſt reſentment.

and at Rouen.

Two years afterwards, during the ſiege of Rouen, the young cardinal of Bourbon, and the zealous Catholics in the royal army, cauſed the graves to be opened, in which the corpſes of the Hugonots, their fellow ſoldiers and comrades, had been recently interred. Animated by a ſavage ſpirit of deteſtation towards men of an oppoſite faith, though engaged in the ſame cauſe, they had the barbarity to throw the dead bodies of their brave and meritorious aſſociates, to the ravens and the wolves[79]. The king was compelled to be a paſſive ſpectator of this violation of the ſanctity of the tomb.

Decline of the ſpirit of perſecution.

His abjuration in 1594 may be ſaid to have given a mortal wound to the enmity between the two religions; and the Catholics, ſatis-

[78] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 222.

[79] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 93. D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 264.

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fied with ſo illuſtrious a victim, loſt much of their preceding antipathy towards heretics. Notwithſtanding the poſitive prohibition contained in the fourteenth article of the edict of Nantes, to "preach or perform any act of the reformed worſhip, either in "the court and royal reſidence, or within five leagues of Paris;" we find Catherine, princeſs of Navarre, Henry's ſiſter, openly violating it with perfect impunity. She ventured, not once, but conſtantly during ſeveral years, to cauſe public worſhip to be performed in the palace of the Louvre itſelf, to which all perſons were freely admitted [80]. Marriages were publickly celebrated after the Proteſtant ritual; the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper adminiſtered; and meat was ſerved at her table on days when fleſh was interdicted by the Romiſh calendar [81]. It is to be obſerved, that at the preciſe time when ſhe thus manifeſted her invincible attachment to hereſy, in the midſt of the capital and court, L'Etoile acquaints us, "Proclamation "was made in Paris, forbidding any perſon to eat fleſh in Lent "without a diſpenſation, on pain of corporal puniſhment; and en-"joining butchers neither to ſell, nor even to expoſe meat, on "penalty of death [82]." Criminals, condemned to die for capital crimes, were publickly viſited and attended in priſon by Hugonot miniſters [83].

Conduct of the princeſs of Navarre.

The Pariſians, who, a few years or almoſt months before, would have run with fire-brands and inſtruments of deſtruction to ſuppreſs ſuch heretical proceedings, ſcarcely preſumed to murmur, and were rather impreſſed with aſtoniſhment than reſentment. Cardinal Gondy, accompanied by ſome of the clergy, did, indeed, remonſtrate with the king on ſo public and indecent an encouragement of hereſy. But the anſwer which he received, was not of a nature to encourage him to repeat the experiment [84]. When Benoiſt, curate of the pariſh

Remonſtrances of the clergy.

[80] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p 54.
[81] Idem, tome ii. p. 22, and p. 43, and p. 58, and p. 88, and p. 132, and p. 155, and p. 164, and p. 250.
[82] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 88.
[83] Idem, p. 132, and p. 162.
[84] Idem, p. 54.

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of St. Euſtace, took ſome liberties with his tongue in cenſuring the princeſs's conduct, ſhe ſent for him, and reprimanded him with aſperity for his inſolence [85]. It excited no complaint among the people. In 1606, the Proteſtants, with Henry's expreſs permiſſion, met at Charenton, ſcarcely two leagues from the gates of the metropolis, to exerciſe their religion. The Pariſians appear to have been incenſed at ſo daring an act, which was committed in open contempt of the limitations and reſtrictions contained in the edict of Nantes. They ſhewed a diſpoſition to interrupt and to diſturb the Hugonots, who were near three thouſand in number; but the preſence of the archers of the royal guard reſtrained the multitude, and prevented any riot or outrage, though not without conſiderable difficulty [86].

Proteſtants preach at Charenton.

Nor was this ſalutary change in the minds of men, upon religious ſubjects, confined to Paris or to France. It pervaded Europe, and operated with ſingular efficacy in the court of Rome itſelf. Clement the Eighth, a pontiff of a ſound and enlightened underſtanding, exhibited a very different ſpirit from that by which his predeceſſors, Pius the Fifth, or Gregory the Fourteenth were animated. He deſired to extinguiſh hereſy by perſuaſion, and not by perſecution. Throughout his whole pontificate, he abſtained from any act of violence towards the profeſſors of the reformed religion; and he even freely iſſued paſſports to them, in virtue of which they could viſit or reſide in Rome without danger or perſonal moleſtation [87]. No preceding pope ſince Luther's appearance, had relaxed ſo much from the ſeverity againſt them; and Paul the Fifth, Clement's ſucceſſor, imitated him in this amiable part of his conduct. Both thoſe pontiffs carried on an epiſtolary correſpondence with Sully; and their letters to him, though tinctured with becoming zeal, might from the liberal ſentiments with which they abound, have been dictated by Lambertini or Ganganelli, the two moſt beneficent prelates who have

Change in the court of Rome.

Clement the Eighth,

and Paul the Fifth,

correſpond with Sully.

[85] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 88.
[86] Idem, vol. ii. p. 122, 123.
[87] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 72, 73. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 203.

occupied

occupied the chair of St. Peter in the preſent century[88]. The anſwers of the Hugonot ſuperintendant, breathe the utmoſt veneration for the apoſtolic ſee, and reſpect towards the vicars of Chriſt.

Spirit of the people in the provinces,

At the period of Henry's aſſaſſination, when the reins of government were neceſſarily relaxed during the vacancy or minority which took place, the people in the provinces ſeemed to have buried in his grave all their paſt animoſities. Inſtead of arming againſt each other, as they would have done under Charles the Ninth or Henry the Third, the Catholics and Proteſtants throughout France, took each other under their mutual protection. They even ſwore "inviolable "fidelity and reciprocal aſſiſtance againſt whomſoever ſhould moleſt "them[89]." So wonderful a union was regarded at the time, as produced by ſupernatural and divine interpoſition. Even the clergy of the two religions were animated with the ſame benevolent ſpirit, and joined in inculcating obedience to the laws, forgiveneſs, and toleration. On the 30th of May 1610, ſixteen days after the king's death, a Capuchin friar, preaching at St. Andrew's church in Paris, exhorted his audience "to live in peace with each other, notwithſtanding the "diverſity of religion." He adviſed the people "to leave all theo- "logical controverſies to the Sorbonne and to the ſchools, and im- "plicitly to yield obedience to the edicts of their late excellent de- "parted maſter, that great reſtorer of the ſtate, who, for wiſe rea- "ſons, and for the repoſe of his ſubjects, had enacted them; that "in ſo doing, they could not err[90]." We cannot deſire any more convincing proof of the prodigious alteration effected by a few years of vigour and toleration.

and of the Catholic clergy.

Example of it.

Courts of juſtice.

All the inherent and inveterate abuſes which had diſhonored the adminiſtration of juſtice during the reigns of the princes of Valois, continued to pollute it under Henry the Fourth. Such was the confuſion and ſubverſion of the very forms of law, that in the year

[88] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 403—405; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 148-151.

[89] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii p. 158, 159.

[90] Idem, p. 166, 167.

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Vacancy of the poſt of chancellor.

1590, for many months the office of chancellor of France was totally ſuſpended. The great ſeal commonly remained in the poſſeſſion of Ruzé, ſecretary of ſtate. Marſhal Biron, who though commander in chief under the king, yet aſpired to direct legal, as well as military operations, continually diſputed with the marquis D'O, ſuperintendant of the finances, for the right of ſealing and expediting public acts. Their equal ignorance of the common or civil law, led them into perpetual violations of equity and of juriſprudence, highly injurious to their maſter's affairs. Henry, diſguſted at their errors, and wearied by their altercations, recalled the ancient chancellor Chiverny, and delegated to him anew the badges of his office [91]. From this period, the external decorum and dignity of the proceedings in courts of law began to re-appear; but the fountain itſelf was not leſs corrupt. Importunities, ſolicitations, and preſents, were offered and exerted with impunity [92]. So vile and abject were many of the provincial judges appointed by the crown, that they did not bluſh to enter into the immediate ſervice of princes, noblemen, governors, and corporate bodies, from whom they received pecuniary ſtipends, and in whoſe favour they perverted the courſe of juſtice [93].

Venality of the provincial judges.

The calamities of France, and in particular the diſtreſs occaſioned by the capture of Amiens in 1597, compelled the king to have recourſe to very pernicious expedients for raiſing money with expedition. Among theſe, was the augmentation of the number of counſellors in all the parliaments of the kingdom. The imperious neceſſity which dictated the meaſure, carried it into effect, notwithſtanding the murmurs and oppoſition experienced in the courts of civil and criminal law [94]. Perſons, employed in the public ſervice, received their aſſignments on the profits to be derived from the ſale of the

Augmentation of legal employments,

[91] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 168, 169. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 174—187.

[92] Journal Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 40, and p. 44, and p. 46, 47, and p. 97, and p. 178.

[93] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 23.

[94] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 351, and p. 462.

newly-

newly-created offices; but such was the general consternation at that juncture, and so precarious was the very existence of the monarchy, that no purchasers could be found for them, while Amiens remained in possession of the Spaniards. We find Henry writing to Rosny in August 1597, to acquaint him, that even for places in the parliament of Paris, there was not an offer made; and beseeching him to assign the payment of garrisons, which were in imminent danger of mutinying for want of their arrears, upon some more efficient fund [95].

Want of purchasers for them.

In 1604, the institution of the "Paulette," which for a small annual consideration made to the crown, enabled the holders of legal employments to transmit or devolve them at death to their heirs general, carried the venality of the law to its utmost height, and rendered it perpetual. It seemed impossible to devise a mode of filling the royal coffers, more injurious to the subject, or more pernicious in its effect on equity and morals. Mezeray, though he wrote under Louis the Fourteenth, when the evil was in full force, yet speaks of it in terms of horror and natural indignation [96]. In 1597, the place of a president in the parliament of Paris sold for about two thousand pounds [97]. Three years afterwards, the post of a counsellor in the same body seems to have been valued at five hundred [98]. Henry, in 1594, in order to enable Gabrielle d'Etrées to defray her journey to Lyons, presented her with one of the latter employments [99]. When writing to Sully in 1608, he says, "the lady of Effarts being in "want of money, I have given her a mastership of accounts in Nor- "mandy. I have spoken to the president Motteville to verify it [100]." It is not to be forgotten that both these ladies, on whom he thus confers legal offices, were his mistresses. Such donations excited neither shame nor surprize.

"Paulette." Its institution.

Price of legal offices.

Donations of them to ladies.

[95] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 366.

[96] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 310—314.

[97] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 152.

[98] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 463, 464.

[99] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 61.

[100] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 266.

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Fees of lawyers.

The enormous amount of fees and charges made by attornies in all the courts of law, was an object of general complaint during the period under our review. We may form ſome eſtimate of their magnitude, when we find the duke of Luxembourg complaining to Henry in 1602, that a ſum nearly amounting to two hundred pounds ſterling had been demanded of him by counſel, to plead a cauſe, which was then depending before the parliament of Paris [101].

Attempt to reform them.

In conſequence of this and other notorious inſtances of extortion or impoſition, an order was publiſhed, enjoining all advocates to declare in writing the ſums received by them in fees, to the end that the court might, on the final deciſion of the ſuit or cauſe, regulate the expence to be defrayed by the loſing parties. The penalty of felony was annexed to refuſal. All the old practitioners at the bar ſubmitted; but the young lawyers, to the number of three hundred and ſeven, having met, gave in their unanimous reſignation, or rather renunciation.

Its effects.

Legal proceedings of every kind being ſuſpended in the capital by ſo extraordinary a circumſtance, a ſedition was apprehended; and meſſengers were diſpatched to acquaint the king, who was then abſent at Poitiers. There were not wanting miniſters, who adviſed him to compel the refractory lawyers to reſume their profeſſion within eight days, on pain of being obliged to enter into trade,

Conduct of the king.

or to apply to agriculture. The parliament appeared to be diſpoſed to ſupport the meaſure, if adopted by government. But Henry, occupied with various matters of moment, and engroſſed by the deſire of getting Biron into his poſſeſſion, whoſe machinations with foreign powers he dreaded, preferred a more temperate alternative. The order iſſued relative to fees, was tacitly revoked or ſuſpended; the pleadings recommenced; and the evil, ſo loudly and juſtly denounced, rather acquired force by the ineffectual endeavours uſed for ts ſuppreſſion [102]. Another abuſe, of which equal complaint was

[101] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 54. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 184, 185.
[102] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 63. Journ. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 54.

made, consisted in the duration of suits. Sully says, that the one depending between the crown and the duke of Nevers, respecting the estates of the families of Foix and Albret, had already lasted more than sixty years, without coming to a decision [103]. It must, however, be admitted, that this grievance has not been confined to France; and that even the English tribunals of civil law are not altogether exempt in the present age from a similar imputation.

Duration of law-suits.

Parliament of Paris.

The parliament of Paris, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the venality with which it was infected, and the improper persons who, by favour or money, found means to intrude themselves into it, yet was a venerable, learned, and majestic assembly. Their decisions and line of conduct on many occasions, were marked by wisdom, public spirit, and patriotism. As a court of criminal judicature, they seem to have been more exempt from censure, more upright, and less biassed by unworthy motives, or by a tame subserviency to the royal will, than in their capacity of civil judges in cases of property. It may be reasonably questioned, whether the English house of lords under Elizabeth, considered as a high court of justice, was equally pure and independant. The jury of twenty-five peers, before whom the earl of Essex was indicted in 1601, betrayed more servile devotion to the crown, and was more disposed to adopt its prejudices or its resentments, than the parliament of Paris, at whose bar marshal Biron was arraigned in the following year. If we compare the illiberal language and injurious epithets applied by Yelverton and Coke to the unfortunate Essex, with the humanity and indulgences extended towards Biron by his judges, we shall not hesitate to decide, that the French tribunal was at once more dignified and more equitable [104].

Its spirit and decisions in criminal causes.

The hours at which the courts of law met for hearing and determining suits or trials under Henry the Fourth, partook of the simplicity

Hours of the courts of law.

[103] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 123.
[104] Camden's Elizabeth, p. 543, 544. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 302, 303, and p. 313, 314.

of

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of early times. We find, that when the emiſſaries of the "council "of ſixteen" ſeized on and executed Briſſon, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, on the 16th of November 1591, they ſtopped him as he was on his way to the hall, ſoon after four o'clock in the morning [105]. Before 1602, ſome relaxation ſeems to have taken place in this particular. Biron was uſually conducted to the "Palais," where the parliament held its ſittings, between five and ſix o'clock; and the chancellor always cauſes the interrogatories to commence preciſely at ſix in the morning [106]. In the trial of a peer, the other peers of France had a right to aſſiſt, and to opine in the high court of parliament; but the whole order unanimouſly declined to be preſent at Biron's arraignment, and could not, either by legal ſummons, or by the king's expreſs command, be induced to attend, throughout the courſe of the proceedings [107]. The parliament of Paris, when all the chambers or courts were aſſembled, appears in 1595, to have conſiſted of near one hundred and twenty members [108]. Several counſellors and maſters of accounts were added by edict, two years afterwards, on the capture of Amiens by Portocarrero [109]. During the troubles of the League, in December 1592, we find that only fifty-one counſellors remained in the metropolis [110]. The remainder had fled to the king, and were by him transferred to the city of Tours.

Right of the peers to aſſiſt.

Numbers of the parliament.

The firm and vigorous reſiſtance, oppoſed by the parliament of Paris on every occaſion, to the efforts made for extending the Papal authority, at the expence of the majeſty of the French crown, and the liberties of the nation, claims our eſteem. They were not leſs tenacious in repreſſing the inſolence of turbulent eccleſiaſtics, and in reſtraining the irregularities or extravagant pretenſions of the monaſtic orders [111]. Their loyalty had been diſplayed, even in times of

General review of their conduct, principles,

[105] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 80.
[106] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 188—190.
[107] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 297—299. Journ d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. 187.
[108] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 85.
[109] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 351.
[110] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 127.
[111] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 480—490; and vol. xiii. p. 29, 30.

revolt

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revolt and anarchy; nor ought it to be forgotten, that their celebrated remonſtrance to the duke of Mayenne, in June 1593, conduced eminently to the preſervation of the Salic law, and the eventual ſubmiſſion of Paris in the following year [113]. The people found in them a bulwark, though a feeble and ineffectual one, againſt the oppreſſion of prerogative, and the augmentation of taxes. If all theſe circumſtances are conſidered, we muſt admit, that, notwithſtanding the vices inſeparable from the nature of their conſtitution, they were eminently entitled to the protection of the crown; and that they conduced in no ſmall degree to the general welfare and proſperity of the nation. and line of action.

[113] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 268—271.

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State of letters.—Natural philoſophy.—Pharmacy.—Juriſprudence.—Oratory and eloquence.—Hiſtory.—Polite letters.—Poetry.—Drama.—The fine arts.—Erudition and literary enthuſiaſm.—State of the univerſity of Paris.—Patronage of letters.—Education.—Libels and political writings.—French language.

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Ignorance of the ſciences in France.

IF we appreciate the reign of Henry the Fourth as a period of letters, it is impoſſible not to admit, that, whatever advances had been made in the fine arts, or even in many branches of elegant compoſition, yet that the higher and more abſtruſe ſciences were ſcarcely cultivated among the French. Natural philoſophy had not liberated itſelf either from the phyſical and mechanical impediments, or from the ſuperſtitious prejudices which check its progreſs. Aſtronomy might be conſidered as unknown. While Galileo, at Florence, diſcovered the ſatellites of Jupiter, and prepared to demonſtrate, in defiance of perſecution, the great truths divulged by Copernicus to mankind: while Kepler was occupied at Prague, in compoſing and publiſhing the "Rodolphine Tables:" while Ortelius, at Antwerp, rivalled the fame of Ptolemy by his geographical improvements; and while Mercator, under the protection of the dukes of Cleves, enriched the world with mathematical and chronological knowledge: amidſt theſe efforts of the human mind, France remained torpid and

Hydraulics.

inert[1]. The firſt principles of hydraulics and of optics were ſtill miſunderſtood, or unaſcertained, at the concluſion of the ſixteenth century. It was not till the year 1602, that the ſecret of raiſing water

[1] Biogr. Dict. vol. v. p. 522, 523; and vol. x. p. 73, 74. Bayle. Dict. vol. vi. p. 657—660. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 199, 200; and vol. xv. p. 50—52.

higher

higher than its ſource, by means of mechanical powers, was put in practice. Claud de Monconnis, preſident of finances at Lyons, exhibited an experiment of this kind with ſucceſs, in preſence of the king, at Rouen. The royal gardens at St. Germain were ſoon afterwards embelliſhed by him with fountains, which, however inferior to the water-works of Louis the Fourteenth at Verſailles and at Marly, excited the aſtoniſhment and admiration of all his contemporaries [2].

Optics.

Teleſcopes, ſo indiſpenſable for exploring the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, were firſt brought to Paris in 1609 from Middleburg in Zealand, where the invention had originated among marſhes and vapours. Galileo ſoon improved upon their conſtruction, and rendered them capable of the moſt ſublime, as well as vaſt diſcoveries [3]. The teleſcopic glaſſes, known in France before the death of Henry the Fourth, were ſtill exceedingly imperfect, and far inferior to thoſe common at the Hague or in Italy. It is evident, from the deſcription left us by l'Etoile, that they could only be conſidered as the rudeſt ſpecimens of optical machines [4]. Not a ſingle man of genius in the ſciences of aſtronomy, chymiſtry, or natural philoſophy, had yet ariſen in France. Deſcartes, who attained to ſuch celebrity under the ſucceeding reign, had not paſſed the limits of childhood in 1610; and Gaſſendi was ſtill unknown. A ſimilar ſterility characteriſed the profeſſions of pharmacy and ſurgery. Foez did not reach the eminence of reputation acquired by Fernel and Paré, his predeceſſors [5]. Paris appears, even at the end of the reign under our review, to have been deſtitute of able practitioners either in ſurgery or in medicine. If we may form an eſtimate of the ſkill or ability ſhewn in other branches of the art, by their ſucceſs in cutting for the ſtone, we ſhall not entertain any very reverential opinion of their talents. Almoſt all the perſons who ſub-

Diſcovery of teleſcopes.

Pharmacy.

Surgery.

[2] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 564, 565.
[3] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 196. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 50.
[4] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 196. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 386.
[5] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 35, 36.

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mitted to the operation between 1594 and 1610, ſeem to have died of its conſequences. Many of them were of the higheſt quality[6]. The ſurgeons were ſo little verſed in the ſymptoms of the complaint itſelf, that they frequently miſtook them; and after the unfortunate patient had ſubmitted to the knife, it was diſcovered that he had fallen a victim to medical ignorance and miſapprehenſion. Numerous inſtances of this fact are preſerved by l'Etoile. The trade of an apothecary was much more comprehenſive than in the preſent age. We find Henry the Fourth deſiring Sully to pay his apothecary, not only for medicinal drugs, but for ſugar, ſpices, and torches, furniſhed for the royal houſehold[7]. It was not till the age of Louis the Fourteenth, that the French juſtly attained the pre-eminence of medical ſcience and ſkill above any other of the European nations.

Ignorance of the practitioners.

Juriſprudence, in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the term, as including a knowledge of the civil, canon, and common law of France, had made a far more rapid progreſs. Cujas, who ſurvived the extinction of the houſe of Valois only a ſhort time, and whoſe end was accelerated by his emotions at witneſſing the ſubverſion of juſtice and the deſtruction of the laws, left behind him a name ſcarcely inferior to thoſe of Ulpian or of Trebonian among the Romans. Such was the veneration in which he was deſervedly held by his contemporaries, that, when citing his authority or deciſions at the bar, it was cuſtomary to call him "the lawyer," as alone worthy of the name[8]. His pupil Pithou equalled him in legal ability, and far excelled him in every ſpecies of claſſical erudition, as well as acquaintance with polite letters[9]. We ſhould not ſuſpect ſo diſſolute a monarch as Henry the Third, of imitating Juſtinian in the moſt elevated and laudable act of that emperor's adminiſtration. Yet Briſſon, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, who fell a ſacrifice to the fury of

Juriſprudence.

Cujas.

Pithou.

Briſſon.

[6] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 54, 55, and p. 213; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 210; and tome ii. p. 169.

[7] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 303.

[8] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 229—231.

[9] Idem, vol. xiii. p. 37, 38.

the

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the "council of ſixteen" in 1591, had by Henry's order, collected in a ſingle volume, all the edicts and inſtitutions of the kings of France. He named it "Le Code Henry," from the prince at whoſe command it was compiled[10]. Henry the Fourth does not appear to have extended equal attention to ſo important a branch of legiſlation and ſcience.

Legal oratory.

That the oratory of the bar had not emancipated itſelf, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, from the falſe ornaments of a vicious and pedantic taſte, is manifeſt by the ſpecimens left us of that ſpecies of eloquence. Henry the Fourth, deſirous to ſhew his gueſt, the duke of Savoy, every object moſt deſerving of attention in the capital, conducted him in January 1600, to the great hall of the court of juſtice. Harlay, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, ſelected from among the cauſes depending before the tribunal, one not only intereſting in itſelf, but calculated to diſplay, in all its extent, the legal ingenuity and ability of the greateſt advocates of France. The king and duke, concealed behind a curtain, were preſent at the trial. A wealthy Gaſcon, of the name of Proſt, who had arrived in the metropolis during the preceding year, ſuddenly diſappeared. The wife of the perſon in whoſe houſe he had lodged, named Bellanger, by trade a baker, gave notice of the event to the commiſſaries of the police; but ſhe previouſly entered the apartment of Proſt, and took from thence a part of his money and clothes. The mother of the deceaſed repairing to Paris, and having diſcovered the theft, immediately inſtituted an enquiry into the proceeding, and accuſed Bellanger of being the murderer. According to the forms of criminal juſtice in that age, the baker underwent the torture; from which, however, his wife and maid-ſervant were exempted. As they perſiſted to deny any participation in the crime, and no indications of their guilt appearing, they were all liberated. Soon afterwards, two

Trial before the parliament of Paris.

[10] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 523.

criminals,

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criminals, convicted of various offences, confeſſed that they had murdered Proſt, and pointed out the place where they had thrown his body. Bellanger, on this diſcovery, commenced a proſecution againſt the mother of the deceaſed, demanding very ample pecuniary damages for the impriſonment, and other injury which he had unjuſtly ſuffered [11].

Pleadings on it.

Such was the nature of this celebrated cauſe, upon which the firſt pleaders of the bar were retained. Robert opened it for the plaintiffs; Arnauld was employed by the defendant; and Louis Servin, attorney-general, ſummed up the evidence and arguments on both ſides. The three ſpeeches pronounced on the occaſion, are literally tranſmitted to us by Matthieu; and they enable us to form an accurate opinion on the legal eloquence of the time. In all of them we diſcern acute penetration and ſound reaſoning; but they are deformed by far-fetched and unnatural conceits, loaded with a redundancy of learning, and rendered tedious by perpetual endeavours to diſcover precedents, or ſimilar caſes, among the fables of antiquity. Robert begins his harangue by obſerving, that the wound inflicted on Telephus, the ſon of Hercules, by the ſpear of Achilles, could only be healed by the touch of the ſame weapon. Beſides the general application of the remark to the court collectively, the particular ſting of it conſiſted in its perſonal alluſion to the firſt preſident, Harlay, whoſe Chriſtian name was Achilles [12]. He ſoon afterwards compares the falſe and calumnious accuſations made by the mother of Proſt, which had miſled the judges, to the torch of Nauplius, the father of Palamedes, which occaſioned the ſhipwreck of the Grecian ſhips on the rocks of the Chærades [13]. After a digreſſion of conſiderable length and equal erudition, upon the effects of calumny, he mentions the circumſtance of Ceres having condemned herſelf to make for Pelops

Speech of Robert.

[11] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 439, 440. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 454, 455. Chron. Septen. p. 110, 111. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 172. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 225—227.

[12] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 455, 456.

[13] Idem, p. 458, 459.

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an ivory arm, in the place of that which ſhe had inadvertently eaten at the banquet of Tantalus. He derives from thence an argument in behalf of his client, whom the court had impriſoned and tortured, though innocent of the crime imputed to him, and demands compenſation for the ſeverity with which he had been treated [14]. It muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch reaſons do not produce conviction.

That of Arnauld,

The ſpeech of Arnauld, in juſtification of the mother of Proſt, is a much more ſimple, unſophiſticated, and affecting appeal to the underſtanding, as well as the paſſions; though it is not by any means free from a mixture of affectation and bad taſte [15]. There are paſſages in it of extreme beauty, and which in every age muſt excite admiration.

and of Servin.

That of Servin, while it diſplays the force and energy of a capacious mind, capable of combining, comparing, and forming its final inductions with conſummate ability; is yet diſguſting from the perpetual citations with which it is oppreſſed [16]. The ſame ſpirit pervaded his harangue on the day ſubſequent to the aſſaſſination of Henry the Fourth in 1610, when Mary of Medecis appeared in the parliament to claim the regency, with her ſon, the young king. At a moment when France was plunged in juſt affliction, and when tears or ſobs interrupted every voice, Servin exhorts Louis the Thirteenth "to conduct himſelf towards his mother, as Alexander Seve-"rus had done to Mammœa; and to act only by her counſels who "was ſeated by him, as Bathſheba by Solomon [17]." Of the general eloquence of the period, many ſpecimens are preſerved in de Thou, and other contemporary writers. They bear the ſame characteriſtic impreſſion, though varied in the different ſpeakers. We are covered with aſtoniſhment at the quantity of extraneous matter, the numerous precedents drawn from ſcripture and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, as well as the variety of ſcholaſtic or theological learning, contained in the ſpeeches of the archbiſhops of Lyons and Bourges, during the con-

Eloquence of the period.

Speeches of the archbiſhops of Lyons and Bourges.

[14] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 462, 463.
[15] Idem, p. 466—476.
[16] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 477—498.
[17] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 100.

ferences

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ferences at Surenne, between the delegates of the king and the League, in 1593. It is not poſſible to diſplay a greater exuberance of knowledge, nor leſs judgment and ſelection in applying it to the points in diſpute [18].

Speeches of Henry, and of Coqueley.

If we were compelled to name two models of oratory, the moſt exempt from the defects enumerated, we ſhould ſelect the harangue pronounced by Henry the Fourth himſelf to the parliament of Paris in 1599, upon their refuſal to regiſter the edict of Nantes; and the ſpeech of Coqueley, a counſellor in the ſame auguſt aſſembly, immediately afterwards. They are neither embelliſhed with unnatural flowers of rhetoric, nor obſcured by unneceſſary quotations and appeals to fable and mythology. Their character is brevity, energy, and ſimplicity. The language of the king is peculiarly beautiful, animated, and mixes familiarity with dignity [19]. It is ſingular to remark, how widely they differ from the general ſtyle of oratory by which the time was diſtinguiſhed.

Hiſtory.

Many writers in the various branches of hiſtorical compoſition aroſe between the death of Henry the Third and the acceſſion of

Brantome.

Louis the Thirteenth. Brantome is, in fact, only a diſſolute courtier, who neither emulates the praiſe of genius nor of virtue. His "Memoirs," if they can with propriety be ſo denominated, are either looſe biographical ſketches, or collections of the amours and gallantries of the court of France. Yet, with every defect of ſtyle, order, and language, they will ever continue to be read. The number of amuſing anecdotes of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages of his time, contained in them; the picture of manners which they convey; and even the incoherent nature of the work, which wanders in perpetual digreſſions; have an inconceivable charm, and do not ſuffer the reader to be fatigued or diſguſted. It is impoſſible to apologize for the wanton and perpetual breaches of decency which occur. We are

[18] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 722—745.
[19] Ibid. vol. xiii. p. 375—384. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 210—214.

amuſed at the panegyrics which he laviſhes on perſonages, who are only known to poſterity by their vices. Margaret, the wife of Henry the Fourth, the Meſſalina of the ſixteenth century, is his heroine. To her he dedicates his "Lives of the foreign Commanders of his own "Time;" as he does the "Vies des Dames Galantes" to her brother Francis, duke of Alenſon[20]. Though Brantome may be ſaid to have flouriſhed under the three laſt kings of Valois, to whoſe memory he is not a little partial, yet he wrote under Henry the Fourth, and died not many years after the aſſaſſination of that prince, at an advanced period of life.

Chiverny. The Memoirs which bear the name of Chiverny, and which carry in them the indelible marks of authenticity, are feeble productions, unworthy of a man, who, under two reigns, had been chancellor of France; and who, during near forty years, had been converſant in all the myſteries of ſtate.

L'Etoile. L'Etoile is a humble journaliſt; ſimple, and only valuable from the number of periſhable facts, or daily occurrences, which his induſtry has preſerved. The manners of the age are, nevertheleſs, to be traced in him, more than in the productions of Davila or de Thou.

Cayet. The two works of Cayet, his "Chronologie "Novennaire," and "Septennaire," which include a period of about fifteen years, from 1589 to 1604, are laborious and accurate compilations.

Matthieu. Matthieu is learned, and entitled to belief, on account of the acceſs which his ſituation, as hiſtoriographer of France, gave him to information; but neither he nor Cayet deſerve to rank as enlightened hiſtorians.

Sully. The works of Sully offer a vaſt maſs of undigeſted materials, letters, papers, and documents, heaped together with little order or ſelection. They preſent, notwithſtanding, collectively, an animated portrait of Henry the Fourth, whom they depicture as equally amiable and dignified, though they neither conceal his defects, nor palliate his errors. It is in this chaos of matter, that we

[20] Brant. Cap. Etrang. tome i. Dedic. and Dames Gal. tome i. Dedic.

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muſt diſcover the ſtate of the French finances at his acceſſion, and their progreſſive amelioration to the period of his death. Sully derives no literary claim to reſpect from his Memoirs, where he never comes forward in the firſt perſon, and in the compoſition of which, as a work, he appears not to have had any ſhare. They are, in fact, only recollections preſerved by four of his official ſecretaries, who addreſs their maſter, and remind him of the facts which they record. It may even excite ſome ſurprize, that during his long retreat of more than thirty years from public buſineſs, ſubſequent to the aſſaſſination of Henry, he ſhould not have had the ambition to compoſe an original work; and after attaining the praiſe of a great miniſter, have emulated the fame of an illuſtrious hiſtorian.

Davila.

Davila is a writer of a very different deſcription. Though an Italian, in which language he compoſed his "Hiſtory of the Civil "Wars;" yet, as he paſſed a conſiderable part of his life in the ſervice of France, the events of which kingdom he records, he may juſtly be regarded in the light of a native. Bolingbroke, who was ſo well able to appreciate literary merit, has not heſitated to place him in competition with Livy [21]. Even if ſo high an encomium ſhould appear to be exaggerated, he will always occupy one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed places among modern hiſtorians. He is neither diffuſe, nor prolix, nor digreſſive, nor affected. His narration inſtructs not leſs than it pleaſes, by the penetration which it diſcovers, the hidden ſprings of action which it developes, and the intimate acquaintance with the human heart and the principles of its conduct, which it diſplays. He rarely wanders from the preciſe limits of his work, and contains little information upon the events which took place in the ſurrounding ſtates of Europe, during the period of thirty-eight years, from 1560 to 1598, which he embraces.

De Thou.

But the palm of hiſtoric merit and celebrity under Henry the Fourth, belongs inconteſtably to de Thou. Perhaps it may not be

[21] Letters on the Study of Hiſtory, letter v.

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too much to ſay, that ſince the great models of antiquity, no perſon ſo illuſtrious in that branch of compoſition has ariſen among European nations. Machiavel and Comines, who preceded him, have not equalled, and Guicciardini has not exceeded his reputation. France, ſo fertile under Louis the Fourteenth, in almoſt every other ſpecies of genius, gave birth to no hiſtoric writer who can be placed in competition with him. Giannoné is every way his inferior. Poſterity will better decide, whether the names of Hume, Robertſon, or Gibbon, are worthy to emulate an equality with de Thou. Voltaire, though pre-eminent in talents, and formed to delight in whatever walk of letters he preferred, is rather a beautiful and ſeductive, than a laborious, accurate, or profound hiſtorian. The merits of de Thou were fully acknowledged by his contemporaries, and avowed even by thoſe who moſt condemned or reprobated his political opinions. Sentiments of du Perron

" The cardinals Aquaviva, Viſconti, Sforza, and others of the ſacred " college, whoſe minds are elevated above the ordinary capacity of " men," ſays the cardinal du Perron, writing from Rome in 1606 to the hiſtorian himſelf, " are never weary of praiſing and celebrat- " ing your works, which they place in the firſt rank after Salluſt, " Tacitus, and the other antient luminaries of the Roman hiſtory [22]."

It is to be obſerved that, at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, Italy pretended to the undiſputed ſupremacy in deciding upon the nature of literary productions, and ſtamping their fame.

" If Alexander," adds du Perron at the cloſe of his letter, " prized on his hiſtory. " his labours in the hope of being commended by the Athenians, ſo " much greater ſatisfaction ought you to feel at being praiſed by the " wits of Italy, who generally, on the article of judgment, carry " away the palm from all others [23]."

Notwithſtanding theſe public and deſerved eulogiums, ſuch were the prejudices of the age, and ſo dangerous was it to manifeſt any tendency towards toleration in matters of religion, that the hiſtory of Perſecution of de Thou,

[22] De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces ſupplem. p. 160. [23] Idem, ibid.

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de Thou could not eſcape being publickly condemned at Rome. The firſt eighteen books, which appeared in 1603, drew down the vengeance of all the zealots of Europe. Even the powerful interpoſition of ſome members of the college of cardinals, who admired and honoured the author, was vainly exerted to prevent its being placed in the liſt of works prohibited by the "Index expurgatorius[24]."

and condemnation at Rome.

Carracioli, who was charged to draw up the ſentence, declared that "it was not poſſible to doubt of his being a Calviniſt; and as ſuch, "that he ought to be ranked among the heretics of the firſt claſs[25]." The cenſure was publiſhed in November 1609[26]. We cannot wonder that the generous and unreſtrained impartiality with which he ſpeaks of the Hugonot chiefs, or that the language of deteſtation in which he mentions the acts of perfidy, intolerance, and cruelty, exerciſed againſt them by Charles the Ninth, and the heads of the League, ſhould excite clamours in the Papal court. If he had flouriſhed a few years earlier, or if Paul the Fifth had been animated with the ſpirit of many of his predeceſſors, de Thou might, in all probability, have been committed to the flames, as Palearius and Carneſecchi had been, under the pontificate of Pius the Fifth. His eminent virtues, and the luſtre of his genius, could not have protected him from the reſearches of the inquiſition.

Sublimity of his hiſtory.

All the majeſty and dignity of hiſtoric compoſition are blended in his works with the moſt unaffected ſimplicity. His comprehenſive talents embrace Europe in their graſp, and combine the events of its moſt remote ſtates or kingdoms with the annals of the French monarchy. He is the biographer, as well as the hiſtorian, of every perſon eminent for parts or merit, between the acceſſion of Henry the Second and the year 1607. It is to be regretted, that either his health, or his various avocations, did not permit him to continue his

[24] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 7, 8. De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces ſuppl. p. 146—155, and p. 159.

[25] De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces ſuppl. p. 141.

[26] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 207, 208.

labours

labours to the concluſion of the reign of Henry the Fourth. Perhaps it may likewiſe be ſubject of concern, that he preferred the Latin language to his own, as it has involved him in ſome obſcurity on the article of proper names, places, and nations. It was impoſſible that a man who circumſcribed ſo vaſt a compaſs, and who wrote upon contemporary or recent events, ſhould not ſometimes compoſe from erroneous documents, or partial materials. If we were inclined to criticize, or to point out the blemiſhes of ſo ſublime a production, we might poſſibly think that it is too diffuſe, and that if compreſſed, it would have been more valuable. But the partialities of de Thou, ſuppoſing that ſuch are admitted to exiſt, are only the laudable predilections and attachments of a virtuous and patriotic citizen, towards the ſucceſſion of the ſceptre in the houſe of Bourbon, for the majeſty of the throne, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the general felicity of the people.

Blemiſhes of it.

Few writers in the walk of polite letters, whoſe reputation has ſurvived the lapſe of near two centuries, or paſſed the limits of France, appeared under Henry the Fourth. Iſaac Caſaubon was a native of Geneva, though he remained ſeveral years in the court, and under the immediate protection of that prince [27]. Joſeph Scaliger, by birth a Frenchman, yet retired to Leyden, where he received, from the liberality of the Dutch, the recompence denied to his talents by his own countrymen [28]. Both, though inconteſtably men of extraordinary endowments, and who have enriched the world by their labours, were rather critics, and eminent for profound erudition, than diſtinguiſhed by that elegance of talents which conſtitutes the aptitude for polite letters. Paſquier is at once a learned, animated, and entertaining writer, in almoſt every branch of compoſition. One of the moſt amuſing productions of the period, and which blends in-

Caſaubon.

Scaliger.

[27] Biog. Dict. vol. iii. p. 179—183.

[28] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 52, 53. Biog. Dict. vol. xi. p. 309—312.

finite

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finite humour with the keeneſt ſhafts of ridicule, is the "Satyre "Menippee." It appeared in 1594, and had no inconſiderable effect in decrying, as well as in expoſing to a degree of general deriſion, the party and principles of the League [29]. We ſhould be at a loſs to compare it with any ſimilar production in the Engliſh language. Neither the "Rehearſal" of the laſt century, nor "Hudibras," nor the "Tale of a Tub," nor the "Rolliad," though all of them models of irony, wit, and ſatyre, have any analogy or reſemblance to the "Satyre Menippee." A canon of the cathedral of Rouen, named Le Roy, is commonly ſuppoſed to have commenced it; but having left it imperfect, others proſecuted and completed the work [30]. The convocation of the States General at Paris by the duke of Mayenne, at which is, in a ſpecial manner, levelled the force of his ridicule, received an injury in the public eſtimation from it, which rebounded on the faction itſelf, and on all the partizans of Spain. In this line of compoſition, we ought not to omit the "Confeſſion de Sancy," written by the celebrated Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné; and in which, with great erudition and uncommon energy, as well as ability, we trace all the envenomed and malevolent aſperity characteriſtic of the author. It ſeems to have been publiſhed towards the commencement of the ſeventeenth century [31]. The local and perſonal nature of theſe ſatyres, as well as the affected obſcurity of many paſſages in both, have contributed to diminiſh their reputation, and to conſign them to a premature oblivion. It would be unjuſt not to include among the men of genius, who illuminated and diſtinguiſhed the period by their writings, the two cardinals, d'Oſſat and du Perron. The names of Bodin and of Vignier, who excited the admiration of their contemporaries, are now totally forgotten [32].

"Satyre Menippee."

"Confeſſion de Sancy."

[29] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 286, 287. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 702. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 287.

[30] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 702. Satyre Men. vol. i. Avis. p. 16, 17. Eſprit de la Ligue, vol. i. Ouvrages cités, p. 36, 37.

[31] Confeſſ. de Sancy, Preface, 33—39.

[32] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 33—35.

Geography

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Geography.

Geography appears not to have advanced beyond its firſt rudiments, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. Thevet had, indeed, publiſhed a map of France before 1593; but it was a very defective work [33]. La Guillotiere, who died in 1594, was a man of ſuperior talents and greater accuracy [34]. Charts were uſually drawn with the pen, not engraven, and were rather preſerved in the muſeums of men of taſte and letters, than intended for ſale [35]. In 1608 we find Sully, by order of the king, ſending engineers to make exact charts and ſurveys of the frontiers of France: from the ſpecimen left us of its execution, it was performed with care and ability. The object intended by Henry and his miniſter was nevertheleſs political, not literary [36].

Malherbe.

If France was leſs exuberant of poets under Henry the Fourth, than during the reigns of the laſt princes of Valois, the paucity of numbers was in ſome meaſure compenſated by the appearance of Malherbe. With him the French language began to aſſume correctneſs, purity, and grace. He is, in all other reſpects, inferior to Ronſard. His productions are in general ſhort, feeble, courtly, and compoſed on fugitive or temporary occaſions. Malherbe rarely attempts the ſublime, and is rather exempt from faults, than abounding in beauties. He ſeems to have been overrated by Balzac and by Boileau, who, charmed with the chaſtity and clearneſs of his verſes, demanded no other qualities of a poet [37]. Voltaire has reduced him to his proper place and juſt dimenſions: he is nevertheleſs read and taſted, after a hundred and eighty years, though he will not ſuſtain a compariſon with the writers of the age of Louis the Fourteenth.

Regnier.

Regnier acquired a conſiderable reputation by his ſatyres, during the laſt ten years of the reign under our review. He is uſually obſcure, and almoſt always libertine. Even his beſt productions are ſervile

[33] Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 129. note.

[34] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 58, 59.

[35] Idem, ibid.

[36] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 222, 223.

[37] Balzac, Lett. latine a Selhon. Boileau, Art poetique, chant. i.

imitations

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imitations of Horace, Ovid, or Juvenal; yet as the ſpecies of poetic compoſition was new, and as there is no deficiency of animation, energy, or warmth, in his ſatyres and elegies, he ſtill preſerves a place among the poets of the time. The celebrated mademoiſelle Scuderi, in her romance of "Clelia," has mentioned him with applauſe; and Boileau, while he admits his indecency, yet ſpeaks of him in terms of reſpect [38]. Paſſerat, Chretien, Rapin, and du Bartas, however read and admired at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, are nearly unknown to the preſent age [39].

Preference given to the Latin language.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſsful efforts made by Malherbe to purify and to refine the French language, Latin continued to be the favourite vehicle for the lighter effuſions of wit, taſte, and ſatyre, even in the court. Many of theſe productions have all the neatneſs of Martial, and may rank with the beſt epigrams of that poet. The one, written by Rapin on the death of the chevalier of Aumale, who was killed in the attack of St. Denis, where repoſe the kings of France, is peculiarly happy.

"Ut Phrygio, cecidit Priaimëia littore, virgo,
"Ad Buſti hoſtilis marmora, juſſa mori:
"Ut generi ad ſtatuam, non uno Julius ictu;
"Et victor, victi corruit ante pedes:
"Sic hoſtis regum, regum ad monumenta ſuorum
"Procumbens, merita cæde, cruentat humum.
"Nunc gaudete pii; nam cum hæc regalibus umbris
"Victima dat pœnas, et probat eſſe deos [40]."

The lines, compoſed on the pardon of Henrietta marchioneſs of Verneuil, in 1605, after the conſpiracy of the family of Entragues, againſt Henry the Fourth, are equally beautiful. We ſhall admit

[38] Clelie, tome viii. liv. ii. p. 587. Boileau, Art poetique, chant. x.

[39] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 231, 232; and vol. xiii. p. 36, 37; and vol. xiv. p. 59, 60; and vol. xv. p. 30. Regnier, vol. i. Satyre ix. p. 134. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 198.

[40] Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 209.

their

their claim to praiſe, though we ſhould detect the plagiariſms committed by the author on Catullus, or on Virgil.

" Mors & amor, dubio Henricæ de funere certant,
" Et voti cauſas reddit uterque ſui.
" Jactat amor formam, et molles commendat ocellos:
" Mors, ſcelus, et miſeræ crimina nota refert.
" Sub Jove res acta eſt, cæcum qui pectore toto
" Vulnus alit; victo judice, vicit amor[41]."

The drama was ſtill in a very rude and imperfect ſtate, during the period which we are reviewing. Comedy had neither elegance nor refinement; and the pieces, repreſented even before the court, ſeem to have been only a ſort of farces, calculated to excite mirth, by a coarſe delineation of manners, at the expence of decorum, and of reſpect for the civil power[42]. Tragedy had not yet awoke, and Corneille was hardly born in 1610. Garnier, who died in 1590, had ſucceeded to the fame of Jodelle: but his productions are now forgotten, or of little eſtimation[43].

No ſchool for painting, architecture, or ſculpture, had been yet formed. The age ſeems not to have produced any artiſts of celebrity, in either of thoſe branches. Vouet muſt be, in ſtrictneſs, conſidered as belonging to the reign of Louis the Thirteenth; though many of his early productions are anterior to that prince's acceſſion. He was the father of painting among the French, but far inferior in ſtrength of genius and vigor of execution, to his contemporary Pouſſin. Medals, commemorative of the principal events of Henry's reign, or containing alluſions to his political ſituation, were annually ſtruck, and preſented to him by Sully. Many of them diſplay conſiderable elegance of claſſical taſte, and might have been offered to Auguſtus, or to Trajan. In 1588, Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy,

Medals.

Their taſte and execution.

[41] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 71.
[42] Ibid. p. 140—142. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 386.
[43] De Thon, vol. xi. p. 232.

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having availed himſelf of the troubles of the French monarchy, to ſeize on the marquiſate of Saluzzo; and deſirous to perpetuate the remembrance of an act which augmented ſo greatly his power and dominions, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck of a very inſolent nature: It repreſented a Centaur, trampling under his feet a royal crown, with the ſingle word "opportune" annexed. To have ventured on thus inſulting the ſovereign, whom he had previouſly injured and deſpoiled, Charles Emanuel ſhould have been better aſſured of retaining his uſurpation. After the ſhort and ſucceſsful campaign againſt Savoy in 1600, terminated by the ceſſion of Breſſe and Bugey to Henry the Fourth, Sully choſe for his maſter's device, at the commencement of the following year, a Hercules vanquiſhing a Centaur, and replacing a crown; under it was inſcribed "opportunius[44]." Several others of the mottos or emblems engraven by his directions, as well as the alluſions ſelected, are uncommonly beautiful, and betray an intimate acquaintance with all the moſt intereſting and pictureſque paſſages of the hiſtory of Greece and Rome[45].

Erudition,

The age was ſtrongly characterized by its erudition and love of antient learning. Even ſoldiers and ſtateſmen emulated the praiſe of ſcholars. The younger Biron, who had paſſed his whole life in camps, was, as we learn from d'Aubigné, intimately acquainted with Greek; though he ſtudiouſly concealed it, or felt an awkward ſhame at its diſcovery[46]. Eccleſiaſtics not only read and converſed, but thought in Latin. We find the archbiſhop of Bourges, when expiring in 1606, addreſſing himſelf to his confeſſor in that language, as he had done during the whole progreſs of his diſtemper, to the aſſiſtants about his perſon. His pulſe fluttering previous to his diſſolution, he demanded, "Heu! quænam, et quanta hæc eſt agitatio?" The prieſt replying, "Majora, pro te, paſſus eſt Chriſtus;" the dying

peculiarly of the clergy.

Inſtance.

[44] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 8.

[45] Idem, p. 40, and p. 62. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 382. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 128, 129.

[46] D'Aub. Hiſt. Univ. vol. iii. p. 487.

prelate

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prelate anſwered, "Majora, peccata mea meruere: ſed, per effuſionem "ſanguinis Chriſti, remedium animæ meæ ſpero." He breathed his laſt a few moments afterwards [47]. Not only hiſtory, but almoſt all productions of controverſy, theology, and medicine, were more frequently written in the Latin, than in the French language [48]. Great literary enthuſiaſm animated men of letters. Hadrien Romanus, ſays de Thou, having propoſed a problem to all the mathematicians of the globe, it was reſolved in an inſtant, by Francis Viete of Fontenay in Poitou, who returned it with additions and corrections, to its author. Overcome equally with ſurprize and veneration at ſuch a diſplay of talents, Romanus immediately ſet off from Wurtzburg in Franconia, to ſee and converſe with him. Arriving at Paris, he found that Viete had quitted the metropolis, to retire to his native province: but far from relaxing in his purſuit, Romanus reſumed his journey. The two literati paſſed a month together, charmed with each other's ſociety. As an acknowledgment of the honour conferred on him, Viete cauſed his friend to be re-conducted to the frontiers of France, and all his expences to be defrayed [49]. We muſt admit, that neither ſuch ardour nor ſuch generoſity are common in the preſent age.

Literary enthuſiaſm.

Example of it.

The univerſity of Paris ſeems, notwithſtanding the convulſions and ravages of civil war, to have rapidly recovered, after the ſubmiſſion of the capital to Henry, in 1594. How numerous were the ſtudents at the cloſe of that year, we may infer, when l'Etoile aſſures us, that ſuch was the conſternation occaſioned by Chatel's attempt to aſſaſſinate the king, as to ſtop more than ſix hundred from proceeding on their journey to the metropolis, who were already ſet out, and to occaſion nearly as many more to leave the univerſity [50]. Its diſcipline had become ſo relaxed, that, in 1598, it was judged indiſ-

Univerſity of Paris.

Numbers of ſtudents.

Renewal of the diſcipline.

[47] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 124, 125.

[48] Ibid. p. 205, 206. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 37, 38.

[49] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 162—164.

[50] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 68, 69.

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penſable to examine and reviſe the ſtatutes, enacted about a century and a half earlier, under the reign of Charles the Seventh, by cardinal d'Eſtouteville. The archbiſhop of Bourges was placed at the head of a commiſſion, expreſsly appointed for the purpoſe, by the crown. He aſſembled the rector, deans, and profeſſors in the four faculties of theology, juriſprudence, medicine, and arts. De Thou, the celebrated hiſtorian, harangued them in the name of the parliament of Paris. The new regulations were then read, which were principally directed to inculcate, and to enforce obedience to the ſovereign, to the civil magiſtrates, and to the laws. Servin, attorney-general, added an exhortation to each of the faculties ſeparately. He adviſed the theologians to quit all polemical books of divinity, in order to adhere ſolely to the Bible, as the only rule of conduct. It is amuſing to obſerve, that he enjoins the profeſſors of phyſic, "to peruſe "carefully the works of the divine Hippocrates, to follow his pre-"cepts, and on no conſideration, to run into empiriciſm [31]."

Particulars of it.

Notwithſtanding the renovation of the ſtatutes, the diſcipline continued to be ſo defective, that, in the ſucceeding year, it was found neceſſary to name four cenſors, by expreſs direction of the parliament [32]. L'Etoile ſays, that in 1605, during the fair held in the ſuburb of St. Germain, the ſtudents, pages, and lacqueys were ſo riotous, as to endanger the public tranquillity. They drew up, and engaged in regular bodies. One of the lacqueys having cut off a ſtudent's ears, and put them in his pocket, the ſtudents fell upon the lacqueys, wounded, and killed numbers of them [33].

Cenſors named.

It cannot, with perfect regard to truth, be aſſerted, that Henry the Fourth extended as munificent a protection to arts and letters, as Francis the Firſt, or Henry the Third. He loved, cultivated, and rewarded their profeſſors, but it was without enthuſiaſm. He came to the crown when it was impoveriſhed by civil war, and he was

Protection of letters by Henry.

[31] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 449—454.
[32] Ibid. p. 454, 455.
[33] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 71.

from

from natural diſpoſition, economical. Sully had little taſte for productions of genius, and no predilection for expenſive gratifications. If, however, Henry did not carry his paſſion for ſcience and the elegant attainments of the mind, to ſo great a height as ſome of his predeceſſors, he was, on the other hand, far from neglecting or deſpiſing ſuch reſearches. He invited Caſaubon into France, ſettled on him a conſiderable ſtipend, and made him firſt librarian. We may ſee, in his own letters to his miniſter, how warm an intereſt he took in the affair, and how perſonally he urged the care of Caſaubon, as peculiarly near his heart [54]. Malherbe was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and had a penſion, as well as a table and apartments, provided for him at the expence of the crown [55]. Matthieu held the office of hiſtoriographer of France, with conſiderable appointments [56]. Margaret of Valois, who with the vices, inherited many of the characteriſtic virtues and great qualities of the houſe from which ſhe ſprung, was, during her whole life, the patroneſs of letters and ſcience [57].

Caſaubon.

Malherbe.

Matthieu.

The ſeminaries of education for youth, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, appear to have been as defective, as the ſyſtem of education itſelf was bad. The Jeſuits, after their recal in 1604, became the favourite inſtructors and preceptors throughout France; but they did not effect their eſtabliſhment in the principal cities of the kingdom, without violent ſtruggles on the part of the other eccleſiaſtics and profeſſors. In many places, all the colleges and ſchools were abandoned on their arrival, and the worſt conſequences flowed from this temporary ſuſpenſion of inſtruction. The inhabitants of Poitiers, writing to Sully in 1607, ſay, "We have already repre-
"ſented to you the miſerable condition of this province, where there
"is no longer any method of forming the youth to letters and vir-

Seminaries and ſyſtem of education, defective.

Jeſuits.

[54] Sully, vol i. tome i. p. 395, and p. 440. Biogr. Dict. vol. iii. p. 180—182.

[55] Poeſies de Malherbe, Vie, p. 13, 14.

[56] Matthieu, vol. i. Dedication.

[57] Vie de Marg. p. 398, 399, and p. 409.

"tue."

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"tue[58]." They proceed to ſtate the anarchy and confuſion in which Poitiers had been involved during two years, ſince the intruſion of thoſe unwelcome ſtrangers, the Jeſuits. But the perſeverance and ſuperior talents of the ſociety at length overcame all oppoſition.

Romances.

One of the predominant paſſions of the age, was the rage for romances. To "Amadis" ſucceeded "Aſtræa," written by the marquis d'Urfé, and which was in the higheſt vogue towards the end of Henry the Fourth's reign. The harſh features of chivalry began in "Aſtræa" to be ſoftened down, and to give place to love[59]. "Clorinda," another romance, of which the ſubject is borrowed from Taſſo, acquired great celebrity. Matthieu ſays, "that it was the firſt French book put "into the hand of Mary of Medecis after her arrival from Tuſcany[60]."

Libels.

Notwithſtanding the ſevere reſtrictions impoſed on the liberty of the preſs, and the neceſſity of obtaining the royal permiſſion or approbation previous to the publication of any literary work, the moſt atrocious libels ſeem to have been continually printed and circulated in Paris. Neither the political errors of the adminiſtration, the perſonal vices of the king, nor the ſecret intrigues and gallantries of the court, were ſpared in theſe anonymous productions. In ſome caſes, the authors, though well known, were left without moleſtation of any kind; while in others, they appear to have been proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity. In 1605 appeared a ſatire, entitled, "Le "Livre des Hermaphrodites," which unveiled the ſcenes of libertiniſm acted in the court, and drew a very diſadvantageous picture of the diſſolution of manners then exiſting, when compared with the ſimplicity and purity of earlier times. Henry, after cauſing it to be read to him, and informing himſelf of the name of the author, forbad any ſearch to be made after him. He admitted indeed, that the work was too bold and licentious; but added, that "he could

Examples.

[58] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 86, 87.
[59] Bayle. Dict. vol. iii. p. 866, 867. Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 144.
[60] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 534.

"not

" not in conſcience puniſh a man for ſimply ſpeaking the truth[61]." The magnanimity of ſuch a conduct extorts admiration.

It was a far more dangerous experiment, as it has commonly been found in all ages, to attack the miniſters, than the ſovereign. Soon afterwards, a gentleman named Juvigni, of a very noble and antient family, ventured to write, and to circulate a manuſcript pamphlet, the title of which was, " Diſcours d'Etat, pour faire voir au Roi, en " quoi ſa Majeſté eſt mal ſervie." It was compoſed with a manly and generous freedom, unmixed with any expreſſion indecent towards the king, or injurious to his ſervice; but it bore hard upon Sully, the errors of whoſe adminiſtration it pretended to expoſe. For this imprudent act, Juvigni was proſecuted as guilty of high treaſon, obliged to abſcond, and hanged in effigy at Paris[62]. It was not leſs hazardous, as we may ſee in l'Etoile, to touch the Jeſuits, who, towards the end of the reign under our conſideration, attained to an exorbitant degree of power. Only to be ſuſpected of printing any thing to their diſadvantage, was a ſufficient crime to involve the perſon in ruin[63]; while, at the ſame moment, foreign members of that ſociety did not fear to diſſeminate writings in the capital of France, defamatory of the houſe of Bourbon, of the parliaments, and of Henry himſelf. The moſt complete impunity attended them; nor was any notice taken of ſuch notorious inſults on the majeſty of the throne[64]. It is impoſſible not to ſee, as Sully and d'Aubigné repeatedly aſſert, that the king, who was ſo fearleſs in the field, dreaded, and trembled at the vengeance of the diſciples of Loyola. Almanacs appear to have ſometimes attracted the notice and animadverſion of government, when they predicted ſiniſter events. They ſeem to have become common at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century[65].

Puniſhment of Juvigni.

Power of the Jeſuits.

Almanacs.

[61] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 75.
[62] Ibid. p. 82.
[63] Ibid. p. 77, 78.
[64] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 76, 77.
[65] Ibid. p. 78, 79.

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State of the French language.

The French language had by no means reached its ſtandard, at the concluſion of Henry's reign. That prince, who was himſelf a Gaſcon, had rather contributed to introduce a vicious idiom, than conduced to its purity and refinement. The court, like the prince, ſpoke a corrupt dialect; and Malherbe laboured "a degaſconner la "Cour[66]." He ſucceeded in giving correctneſs to poetry, though he neither attained to majeſty nor ſublimity. But the French proſe remained harſh, rugged, and unpoliſhed. No writer of elegance and taſte in that line of compoſition had as yet appeared. Balzac is the firſt claſſical author; and he did not begin to be celebrated before the commencement of Richlieu's adminiſtration. Rigault ſeems to doubt, whether any literary reputation could be acquired by writing in French, which he treats as a barbarous jargon[67]. The letters of the cardinals of Oſſat and Du Perron, as well as ſome of Paſquier's, ſeem to be the moſt correct productions which France had witneſſed, before the termination of the period under our review.

[66] Malherbe, Vie, p. 30.

[67] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 30.

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State of manners and ſociety.—The court.—Great offices of ſtate.—Dreſs.—Tables.—Domeſtic arts.—Furniture.—Carriages.—Exerciſes and diverſions.—Genius of the amuſements.—Examples of them.—Theatrical exhibitions.—Their ſtyle and taſte.—Rage for play.—Exceſſes of Henry in that article.—Corruption of the age.—Inſtances of it.—Libertiniſm of manners.—Homage paid to Gabrielle d'Etrées.—Conduct of Mary of Medecis.—Examples of the ſpirit of chivalry.—Paſſion for duels.—Edicts iſſued to reſtrain the practice.—Crimes.—Murders and aſſaſſinations.—Want of police in Paris.—State of the provinces in that particular.—Banditti.—Offences againſt morals.—Magic.—Inſtances of the belief in it.—Demoniacs.—Examples.—Belief in prodigies.—Peſtilential diſtempers.—King's evil.—Canine madneſs.

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State of the court before Henry's marriage.

THE French court, conſidered as the regular eſtabliſhment of a great monarch, can hardly, with ſtrictneſs, be ſaid to have had any exiſtence under Henry the Fourth, till after his marriage with Mary of Medecis, towards the cloſe of the year 1600. During the period of the civil and foreign wars, ſuch was the poverty of the crown, that the king found himſelf unable to ſuſtain its dignity, and was continually reduced to the moſt diſtreſſing expedients, even for perſonal ſupport. The temporary reſidence of his ſiſter Catherine princeſs of Navarre, in the metropolis, did not compenſate for the long abſences of a ſovereign, who was perpetually occupied in repelling the foreign and domeſtic enemies of the ſtate, in all the various provinces of his dominions. Henry, while ſucceſſively attached to his two miſtreſſes, the ducheſs of Beaufort and the marchioneſs

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chioneſs of Verneuil, led the life of a libertine man of pleaſure, rather than of a prince, and maintained ſcarcely any oſtenſible court. It was in the houſes of Zamet, Gondi, la Varenne, and other ſubſervient courtiers, that he relaxed from the fatigues of war or of ſtate, in the ſociety of a few choſen companions. But when Mary of Medecis arrived at Paris, all the ſplendor of preceding times was revived. The Louvre became the ordinary reſidence of that princeſs; and we may doubt, whether the drawing-room of her relation Catherine, the wife of Henry the Second, was more magnificent, or better ſuſtained. As early as 1604, her perſonal eſtabliſhment was fixed at not leſs than fourteen thouſand pounds ſterling annually: a ſum which, if we allow for the vaſt diminution in the value of money, may perhaps be conſidered as equal to that of any ſucceeding queen of France [1].

Change, on Mary of Medecis' arrival.

Officers of ſtate.

The neceſſary appendages of royalty, and the officers compoſing the houſehold of Henry the Fourth, though regulated with ſyſtematic economy, were, it would ſeem, neither leſs numerous, nor leſs ample, than thoſe of Francis the Firſt. We may ſee in Sully, the ſums appropriated to various branches of public utility, ſervice, or amuſement. The article of buildings conſumed about twenty-five thouſand pounds annually: public works, above double the ſum; and the penſions exceeded eighty thouſand pounds a year [2]. Notwithſtanding the magnitude and variety of theſe expences, the king allotted near a hundred thouſand pounds for his perſonal pleaſure; which included miſtreſſes, natural children, play, hounds, and hawking [3]. If we may form an idea of the ſalaries of the other great officers of ſtate, from the appointments annexed to the offices held by Sully, they appear to have been upon a ſimilar ſcale. He informs us, that the aggregate amount of his various employments, which he enumerates, equalled at leaſt four thouſand pounds per annum, inde-

Their ſalaries.

[1] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 289.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii tome i. p. 470, 471.
[3] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 358.

pendant of about eighteen hundred more in church preferments or benefices[4]. Yet, as if theſe emoluments were inadequate to his merits, Henry, in 1601, unſolicited, conferred upon him a gratuitous annual donation of two thouſand five hundred pounds iſſuing out of the treaſury[5]. However eminent were the ſervices rendered by Sully to the State, we muſt admit that they were munificently recompenſed. It excites aſtoniſhment when we reflect on the reſources of France, which, in little more than nine years of tranquillity and a wiſe adminiſtration, could enable the crown to effect ſo many works of benefit or grandeur, to pay off its incumbrances, to maintain its ſplendor, to reward merit, and to lay up an immenſe treaſure for times of war or exigency.

Thoſe of Sully.

The luxury of dreſs appears to have been carried to as great a height under Henry the Fourth, as during the reign of his predeceſſor. It is in Baſſompierre, that we may ſee the moſt curious and entertaining details upon that article. He aſſures us, that at the baptiſm of the royal children of France in 1606, when all the nobility and courtiers ſtrove to outvie each other in expence, the dreſs which he made up for the occaſion, coſt him ſeven thouſand crowns. It is to be obſerved, that the cloth of gold, which compoſed the materials of this ſuperb ſuit, was embroidered, or rather totally covered with pearls. The faſhion of it alone came to three hundred crowns[6]. His account of the whole buſineſs is highly pictureſque. "When I "arrived," ſays he, "at Paris, all the taylors and embroiderers were ſo "employed, that no money could procure them. But my own taylor "having informed me, that a merchant of Antwerp had brought a "vaſt quantity of pearls, with which I might make up a dreſs ſuperior in beauty to every other in the court, I ſent for him. Not leſs "than fifty pounds weight of pearl were neceſſary; and the mer"chant inſiſted on receiving two thouſand crowns earneſt. I had

Luxury of dreſs.

Splendor of dreſſes worn.

[4] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 414, 415.
[5] Ibid. p. 416.
[6] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 126, 127.

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Thoſe of Henry the Fourth,

" only about three hundred and fifty in my purſe: nevertheleſs, I " gave orders for it[7]." The birth-day ſuits of the preſent age, whatever taſte may be diſplayed in them, ſhrink on a compariſon in expence, with thoſe worn near two centuries ago. When Henry the Fourth entered the metropolis in 1594 by torchlight, and on horſeback, he wore, ſays l'Etoile, " a dreſs of grey velvet, ſhot with gold, " a grey hat, and a white feather[8]." But at his nuptials, ſix years afterwards, we find him habited " in white ſattin, embroidered with " gold and ſilk, and a black cape[9]." The " toque," or little Italian turban, introduced by Henry the Third, ſtill continued to be worn, ornamented with jewels[10].

and of d'Alincourt.

Great effeminacy characterized the men on the article of dreſs, as we learn from Matthieu[11]. D'Alincourt, the French embaſſador at the court of Rome in 1608, on a day of ceremony, was clothed " in a ſilver tiſſue; his ſhoes and ſtockings white; his cloak black, " with a border of embroidery, lined with cloth of ſilver; and a " bonnet of black velvet." He was beſides covered with precious ſtones and pearls[12]. All preceding magnificence was eclipſed by that of the duke of Nevers, ſent ſoon afterwards on an embaſſy from France to Paul the Fifth; and his dreſſes were not only ſplendid, but varied for the different entries, or days of audience[13]. Sully, enumerating the principal articles which conſtituted elegance of dreſs in 1590, ſtates them to be, " ſcarfs, feathers, ſtuffs, ſilk-ſtockings, " gloves, belts, and caſtor hats[14]." If, after contemplating the ſplendor of upper life, we wiſh to ſee a portrait of ordinary " coſtume" in 1596, we may find it in the ſame author. They wore " the beard " long and forked; a large hat, which almoſt entirely concealed the

Ordinary dreſs.

[7] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 126, 127.
[8] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 45.
[9] Chron. Sept. p. 191.
[10] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 189, 190; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 220, 221.
[11] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 194.
[12] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 174, 175.
[13] Ibid. p. 188—190.
[14] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 78.

" face;

"face; a long black cloak, buttoned at the collar; a ſword, and "very wide boots[15]." Among men of quality and condition, the beard and hair were cut ſhort[16]. That the ſame union of finery and dirt, of external ſhow and concealed poverty, with which the French of the preſent age have been reproached, equally characterized them two hundred years ago, is evident from an expreſſion of a contemporary writer. "Do we not ſee," ſays he, "the youth of "the preſent time, wear collars and wriſtbands of thread-gauze "ſtarched, although the body of the ſhirt be compoſed of coarſe "rotten cloth, ſcarcely ſtitched together[17]?" Gallochios, a ſort of large ſhoes, were common, particularly among the ex-ſtudents of the univerſity of Paris, who, reſiding in different quarters of the metropolis, and attending the lectures, were neceſſitated to avail themſelves of this means of wading through the dirt, with which the ſtreets were incommoded[18].

Female ornaments.

It will not be doubted, that the art of decorating and attiring the female perſon to the utmoſt advantage, had been aſſiduouſly cultivated, under a prince of the gallant and amorous complexion which diſtinguiſhed Henry the Fourth. Ladies appear to have been ſo oppreſſed under the weight of their ornaments and precious ſtones, as to have almoſt loſt the power of motion[19]. When Gabrielle d'Etrées entered Paris with her royal lover in 1594, "ſhe was carried," ſays l'Etoile, "in a magnificent open litter: ſhe had on a robe of black "ſattin, variegated with white; and ſhe was covered with pearls and "jewels of ſuch luſtre, that they dimmed the torches[20]." We may ſee in the ſame author, that Henry did not diſdain to aſſiſt at her toilet, to adjuſt her head-dreſs, and to place the brilliants in her hair, with his own hands[21]. At the ceremony of a chriſtening in the church of St. Ger-

Gabrielle d'Etrées.

[15] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 310.
[16] Hiſt. des Inaugurations, p. 446.
[17] Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 404.
[18] Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 199. Recherches de Paſquier, liv. viii. ch. ii.
[19] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60, and p. 87.
[20] Ibid. p. 45.
[21] Ibid. p. 153.

main

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main de l'Auxerrois, where Gabrielle and the king were preſent, ſhe was ſo loaded with diamonds and pearls, as to be ſcarcely able to ſtand [22]. How unlimited was the expence of female dreſs, we may judge, when l'Etoile aſſures us, that "he ſaw a handkerchief, made "by an embroiderer of Paris for Gabrielle, to be worn on the en- "ſuing day, at a ball; the price of which ſhe had herſelf fixed at "nine hundred and fifty crowns, in ready money [23]."

Changes in female dreſs.

Mary of Medecis did not quit the Tuſcan "coſtume," nor aſſume the modes of France, till the day after her arrival in the capital of her new dominions [24]. Some material alterations in dreſs were introduced by that princeſs. The boſom was laid bare; and the ruff, ſo long faſhionable during the ſixteenth century, was rivalled, though not ſupplanted by the "Medecis;" an ornament compoſed of lace, ſupported with wire, which roſe behind the neck to the height of near twelve inches [25]. It has been revived in our own time, and was highly ſuſceptible of grace.

Materials of them.

Tiſſues, cloth of gold and ſilver, velvet, and ermine, conſtituted the materials of the dreſſes of women of diſtinction, on public occaſions. We can ſcarcely read without ſmiling, that Margaret of Valois, in 1610, "made a preſent of the train of "her gown to the church of St. Sulpice at Paris, to form a canopy "for covering the holy ſacrament, on great ceremonies [26]." It was accepted with teſtimonies of gratitude. She had worn it at the coronation of Mary of Medecis.

Tables. Banquets.

The luxury, diſplayed at the tables of the great, during the period which we are reviewing, excites aſtoniſhment. The preparations for the banquet given by the conſtable Montmorency, on the baptiſm of his ſon in 1597, at which the king and his miſtreſs Gabrielle were preſent, occupied all the cooks in Paris, during eight days. Fiſh was brought, at an immenſe expence, from the ſea. Two ſturgeons

[22] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60.
[23] Ibid. p. 61.
[24] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 55.
[25] Hiſt. des Inaugurations, p. 446.
[26] Vie de Marg. p. 403.

only,

only, coſt fifty crowns. The deſert was not leſs ſuperb; and the fruit ſerved up, exceeded forty pounds ſterling in price. As it was in the month of March, every pear was purchaſed at half-a-crown [27]. The marquis d'O, ſuperintendant of the finances, was one of the greateſt epicures of the time. L'Etoile ſays, that "he ſurpaſſed all "the ſovereign princes of Europe, in prodigality and exceſs; as the "tarts, ſerved at his ſuppers, coſt above twelve crowns a-piece [28]." He does not, however, convey to us a very advantageous idea of the French ſtyle of cookery, when he adds, that theſe tarts were "ſeaſoned with "muſk and amber [29]." In 1596, before the termination of the war with Spain, ſo univerſal was the progreſs of luxury among the middle order of opulent citizens in Paris, that entertainments were given during the carnival, where diſhes were brought on table, which had coſt two and twenty crowns each. Three courſes were commonly ſerved; and ſuch a ſuperfluity of dried ſweetmeats and ruſks were provided, that the ladies gave them away to the pages and lacquies [30]. One of the moſt ſuperb feſtivals commemorated, was the banquet preſented by the Papal vice-legate, at Avignon, to Mary of Medecis, in 1600, ſoon after her arrival in France. After the concluſion of the ball, the tapeſtry at one end of the apartment fell, on a ſignal given, and diſcovered a magnificent collation ſerved on three tables. Beſides many figures of birds, beaſts, and fiſhes, made of ſugar, there were fifty ſtatues of the ſame materials, each two palms high, repreſenting gods, goddeſſes, and emperors. When the collation ended, three hundred baſkets, full of confectionary, particularly fruits, exquiſitely imitated in ſugar, were diſtributed to the ladies [31].

Cookery.

Progreſs of luxury.

Feſtival at Avignon.

It would be a more pleaſing reſearch, to endeavour to aſcertain with ſome preciſion, the progreſs of the domeſtic arts, and to follow the ſilent and inſenſible advances of eaſe, comfort, and elegance, in

Domeſtic arts.

[27] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 153, 154.
[28] Ibid. p. 57.
[29] Idem, ibid.
[30] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 118.
[31] Chron. Sept. p. 187. Journ. Hen. IV. vol. i. tome ii. p. 267, 268.

the

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the dwellings of private life. But theſe ſofter features of hiſtory are rarely traced by contemporary writers, from their univerſal notoriety; and their fugitive, as well as periſhable nature, renders it almoſt impoſſible to recover them after the lapſe of time. The moſt accurate inveſtigation of the authors who wrote under Henry the Fourth, will throw very imperfect light upon the ſubject. The majeſty of de Thou's and Davila's productions, did not permit them often to deſcend to theſe humble, but intereſting details; and we are more indebted for them to the faithful accuracy of l'Etoile, than to thoſe great hiſtorians. We may, however, aſſert with truth, that not only the houſes of the opulent, but the caſtles of the nobility, and the palaces of kings, were very partially and imperfectly furniſhed. Henry, in 1601, writing to Sully from Fontainbleau, at a time when he expected the embaſſadors of Venice, ſays, "Send for d'Herbannes, my "upholſterer, and order him to be here to-morrow betimes, with five "ſuits of tapeſtry, and three or four beds: if more are wanted, they "will be found here. Direct likewiſe to be brought, plate for the "kitchen, with five or ſix baſons, and as many ewers, and ten or "twelve ſilver candleſticks"." It is evident, that only the neceſſary furniture for the royal houſehold was to be found in the palace, and that no proviſion was made for accommodating ſtrangers. Similar orders had been iſſued two years before, when the duke of Savoy viſited the French court [33]. If we would ſee how miſerable and comfortleſs were the apartments, even in the celebrated caſtle of Anet, near Dreux, built by Diana de Poitiers, ducheſs of Valentinois, we have only to peruſe the deſcription of the night which Sully paſſed there in 1594. Though the ducheſs of Aumale, in the abſence of the duke, to whom Anet then belonged, endeavoured to entertain him in the beſt manner poſſible; yet ſuch was the deficiency in every article of neceſſary accommodation, that he could not have ſuffered more

Difficulty of tracing them.

Furniture.

Want of that article among the nobility.

[33] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 38. [33] Ibid. vol. i. p. 441.

in

in the meaneſt cottage [34]. We may infer, from a paſſage in the "Satyre Menippee," that arm-chairs were become common under Henry the Fourth, among the opulent or the indolent [35]. Beds, beſides the curtains, had often a "tour de lit," or ſecond curtain, compoſed of coarſe thick cloth, which excluded all air, and was extremely injurious to health, by its effects [36].

Litters. Litters continued ſtill to be the moſt commodious and ordinary conveyance for women of condition, as well as for the aged and infirm. We find Gabrielle d'Etrées conſtantly preferring that mode of travelling [37]. The prince of Condé, when he carried off his wife in 1609, and withdrew into the Netherlands, mounted on horſeback, and placed the princeſs behind him [38]. Mary of Medecis was accuſtomed to be carried in a ſedan chair, as we learn from Baſſompierre, particularly during her pregnancy [39]. The art of ſuſpending coaches in ſuch a manner as to render their motion eaſy, was unknown: in the relation left us by the Abbé de Pont Levoy, of his father the chancellor Chiverny's death, which was produced by a rupture, he expreſsly attributes it to the violent jolts of the coach. "Inſtead," ſays he, "of ſparing his old age by a good litter, as every one adviſed "him; he had ſome time before cauſed to be made a large handſome "coach, after the mode of the time, lined with crimſon velvet, mag-"nificently gilt [40]." If we wiſh to form an accurate idea of the decorations of carriages in that age, we may do it by peruſing the account which Cayet gives of the coach preſented by the king to Mary of Medecis, on her firſt arrival in 1600. "It was covered with "brown velvet, and ſilver tinſel on the outſide; within it was lined "with a carnation velvet, embroidered with gold and ſilver. The "curtains were of carnation damaſk; and it was drawn by four grey

Coaches, how inconvenient.

Decorations of them.

[34] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 130.
[35] Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 59.
[36] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 285.
[37] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 311. Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 207.
[38] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 203.
[39] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 108.
[40] Memoires de Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 104, 105.

 "horſes."

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"horſes[41]." Notwithſtanding the external ſplendor of their appearance, they wanted every eſſential convenience. Glaſſes were not in uſe before the ſucceeding reign. In 1594, when Catherine, princeſs of Navarre, made her firſt entry into Paris, ſhe had eight carriages in her train[42]. That luxury had made a far greater and more general progreſs, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, on the other ſide of the Alps, than in France, is evident; ſince we find, at the public reception of the duke of Nevers in Rome, there were not fewer than eighteen hundred coaches and carriages in the ſtreets[43]. We learn from Baſſompierre, that about the year 1607, Engliſh horſes were firſt brought over to Paris. Their ſuperior ſwiftneſs and beauty ſoon rendered them faſhionable; and they were eagerly ſought after, as well for hunting, as for the road[44].

Exerciſes and diverſions of the young nobility.

The exerciſes and diverſions in vogue under Henry the Fourth, though ſtill active, martial, and ſometimes hazardous, were leſs fierce than thoſe of the preceding age, and began inſenſibly to aſſume a ſofter character. We find the king, habited in white ſattin, running at the ring, and carrying away the prize, after he had attained his fiftieth year[45]. During the carnival, the young nobility armed themſelves, put on maſks, and mounted on horſeback, having large cuſhions ſtuffed, and covered with taffaty, at the pommels of their ſaddles. Thus accoutred, they aſſembled in choſen troops or bands, paraded through the ſtreets of the metropolis, and attacked each other very roughly, or affronted all ſuch as they chanced to meet in their way. It appears from Baſſompierre's deſcription, that very ſevere blows and contuſions might be given and received in theſe encounters, by the cuſhions, which were uſually filled with hard materials[46].

[41] Chron. Sept. p. 184.

[42] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 22.

[43] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 189.

[44] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 134.

[45] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 223.

[46] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 104—106.

Only

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Only one combat at the barrier was exhibited during the reign under our ſurvey, and it was the laſt ſeen among the French. Baſſompierre, who has left us a minute and entertaining account of it, was a combatant; and he received ſo dangerous a wound in the belly, from the lance of his antagoniſt the duke of Guiſe, that Henry not only ſuſpended the entertainment, but never would permit its repetition[47]. Louis the Thirteenth did not revive them, and they finally expired. It will be amuſing to contemplate the principal features of this combat, as drawn by Baſſompierre: they ſerve ſtrongly to depicture the manners of the age in 1605. The ſcene was the court of the Louvre, which the king cauſed to be covered with ſand on the occaſion. He aſſiſted at it in perſon, with all the court, male and female; and the liſts were placed immediately under the windows of the queen's apartments. Three champions on either ſide, ſelected from among the moſt accompliſhed cavaliers of the time, appeared to encounter, each prepared to break three lances. "As we "had armour and liveries," adds Baſſompierre," ready for every "occaſion, I and my two ſeconds wore ſilver mail: our plumes "were carnation and white, as were our ſilk ſtockings. The duke "of Guiſe and his troop, on account of the impriſonment of the "marchioneſs of Verneuil, whoſe concealed lover he was, put on "dreſs and armour of black and gold. In this equipage we arrived "at the Louvre[48]." Guiſe's lance having entered his adverſary's body at the firſt career, put an end to the diverſion. His recovery was long doubtful, and ſeems to have been almoſt miraculous.

Combat at the barrier.

Deſcription of it.

Naval combats were repreſented, on various occaſions, as far as we are enabled to judge, with extraordinary dexterity. In 1604 the magiſtrates of Rochelle gave a ſplendid entertainment to Sully, the nature and particulars of which can be no way ſo well related as in his own language. Writing to the king, he ſays, "At this banquet

Naval combats.

That of Rochelle

[47] Baſſomp. p. 106, and p. 108.

[48] Ibid. p. 106, 107.

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exhibited to Sully.

" there were ſeventeen tables, of which the leaſt contained ſixteen " covers. On the following day, they preſented us a very handſome " collation of dried ſweetmeats; and on the enſuing one, a naval " combat of twenty veſſels, with dreſſes, arms, ſtreamers, and live- " ries of France, againſt twenty others of Spain, where nothing " was omitted of all that is practiſed in real war. It was terminated " by the victory of the French over the Spaniards, who were all " conducted captives and bound, to the foot of your majeſty's " portrait [49]."

Genius of the paſtimes of the court.

It is not often that de Thou deſcends ſo much from the gravity of his ſtyle and manner, as to commemorate the paſtimes of the French court; but he has violated his accuſtomed brevity on that point, in the deſcription which he has left us, of the carouſal performed in 1606, before the king and queen at Paris. There is no little diſplay of fancy and taſte, in the fabrication of its parts and characters. Four troops of gentlemen, perſonifying the four elements, proceeded by torch-light to the Louvre. The firſt, deſigned to repreſent the " water," was compoſed of ſyrens and deities of the ſea, led by Bellegarde, and followed by twelve cavaliers, ſplendidly dreſſed. In the ſecond, were ſeen Vulcan and the Cyclops, employed in forging armour. They were conducted by the prince of Leon, and repre- ſented " fire." The count of Sommerive, in the character and with the attributes of " air," was accompanied by Juno with eagles and other birds. Laſtly, came the duke of Nevers as the " earth," at- tended by elephants, on whoſe backs were conſtructed towers, in which muſicians were ſtationed; and twelve Moors cloſed the march. In this order they entered the great court of the Louvre, where all the windows were crouded with ſpectators. Having divided into ſquadrons, and diſcharged their lances in the ground, they began a mock combat with arrows and darts, which were dextrouſly received

[49] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 254.

on

on their bucklers. The ſpectacle finally concluded by an engagement between the cavalry, which ſeems to have been deſigned as an imitation of the Pyrrhic dance, ſo famous in antiquity [30]. Poetry, as well as muſic, lent its aid on the occaſion; and Malherbe did not diſdain to compoſe "ſtanzas to the ladies, for the demi-gods conducted by Neptune"."

Noblemen and miniſters performed in them.

Theſe pageants and allegorical repreſentations, which are now properly abandoned to the theatre, were then acted by princes, noblemen, and ladies of the higheſt condition. No ideas of the decorum or gravity annexed to character, office, or ſituation, impoſed any obſtacle. It is entertaining and ridiculous to conſider this principle in its effects; nor can we avoid ſmiling, when we behold Sully, though ſuperintendant of the finances; and Biron, a marſhal of France, commanding the armies of the crown; both dancing in the ſame "ballet." Sully informs us, that in 1597, at a moment when he was occupied in finding pecuniary réſources wherewith to continue the war, and to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Spaniſh arms in Picardy, he made one of fourteen in a "ballet," which Biron undertook and executed in honour of a married lady to whom he was attached. In juſtice to Sully, however, it ought to be added, that he wiſhed to decline this exhibition of his talents for dancing; and he ſays that he only conſented at Biron's urgent entreaty, ſupported by the king's commands. He had ſcarcely finiſhed the "ballet" and retired to reſt at a very late hour, when he was awoke, and ſummoned to attend a council, on the arrival of the diſaſtrous news of the ſurprize of Amiens by Portocarrero [31].

Sully, and Biron.

The queen.

In 1602, we find Mary of Medecis performing the firſt part in a magnificent diverſion, preſented by her to the king, and divided into three acts. She aſſociated to herſelf fifteen of the moſt beautiful or accompliſhed princeſſes and ladies of the court, for the purpoſe. The

[30] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 546, Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 115.

[31] Malherbe, p. 81—83.

[32] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 349.

entertain-

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Entertainment given by Mary of Medecis.

entertainment opened with Apollo and the nine muſes, who ſung, danced, and played on inſtruments of muſic, every cadence ending with theſe words, addreſſed to Henry:

"Il faut que tout vous faſſe homage,
"Grand roi, miracle de notre age."

Eight maids of honour performed the ſecond act, or dance. In the third, appeared the queen herſelf and her band, divided into four troops, covered with jewels of ineſtimable value. The young duke of Vendome, natural ſon to the king by Gabrielle, preceded Mary, in the character of Cupid. This "ballet," it ſeems, made three ſtations, or exhibitions; the firſt at the Louvre, the ſecond at the duke of Guiſe's hotel, and laſtly, in the great hall of the archiepiſcopal palace. The papal nuntio, together with all the foreign miniſters, were preſent at its performance [33]. But it is in Baſſompierre, that we find every detail of theſe gallant amuſements, in which he was a diſtinguiſhed performer. From him we learn, that ſatire ſometimes mingled in them, and that it did not ſpare even the king. In 1598 he tells us, that he was one of twelve men of quality, who danced a "ballet" at Monceaux, expreſsly to amuſe the royal leiſure. They perſonated barbers, in order to ridicule Henry, who, on account of a dangerous complaint of a very delicate nature, had recently been under the hands of ſurgeons [34]. No offence whatever was taken at ſuch a liberty.

Satirical dances.

"Branles."

Their vogue.

The ſpecies of dance, denominated "branles," which, by a ſlight corruption of orthography as well as pronunciation, were the celebrated "brawls" of queen Elizabeth's court, attained to the higheſt vogue, and were beheld with a ſort of enthuſiaſm, under Henry the Fourth [35]. The duke of Montpenſier in 1608, though at the point of death, and only a very few days before he actually expired, quitted his bed in

[33] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 189, 190. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 61.
[34] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 37, and p. 47, and p. 135.
[35] Ibid. p. 38.

order

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order to be a ſpectator of one of theſe dances, which was performed in his own palace by ſome of the young nobility[56]. The king received the firſt impreſſion of that attachment for the princeſs of Condé, which engaged him in ſo many actions diſhonoring to his character and unbecoming his age, by ſeeing her in the dreſs and character of Diana, in a "ballet" at court. She was then unmarried, and in the firſt flower of youth[57]. How ſuperior the French were eſteemed in the profeſſion of dancing as well as fencing, we may infer from Sully's bringing over with him to London in 1603, maſters in both thoſe branches of accompliſhment. They were preſented by him to Henry prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon of James the Firſt[58].

"Ballets."

The theatrical amuſements during this period, appear to have been equally deſtitute of refinement and of genius. Perſonalities and coarſe alluſions, or ſatirical reflexions on perſons of eminence, were allowed and encouraged, as they had been by the Athenians in the time of Ariſtophanes. The duke of Mayenne, in the firſt months of his delegated or aſſumed authority, having been informed that the comedians of the metropolis had inſtalled him on a royal throne, with mock ceremonies calculated to expoſe him to ridicule, ſuſpended and interdicted their performances[59]. Henry was far more placable, even when perſonally attacked. L'Etoile has left us a very amuſing relation of a farce, or comic entertainment, performed in 1607 before the king, queen, and court, at the "Hotel de Bourgogne" in Paris. We may gather from it a perfect idea of the ſtate of the theatre, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, among the French. The fable of the piece, if indeed that term can with propriety be applied to a rude and ſimple delineation of diurnal tranſactions in vulgar life, was void of any pretenſion to fancy, taſte, or compoſition.

Theatrical amuſements.

how unrefined.

Farce performed before the court.

[56] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 131.
[57] Journal. d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 193.
[58] Sully, voll i. tome ii. p. 169.
[59] Satyre Men. vol. ii. p. 386.

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Deſcription of the piece.

The ſcene diſcovered a mechanic and his wife, engaged in altercation; the woman complaining, that her huſband paſſed the whole day at the tavern intoxicating himſelf, while the tax-gatherers, in the king's name, ſeized on all their little property or gains of every kind. To this reproach the man replied, not without humour, that the oppreſſion of the taxes was an additional motive with him to drink. "For what the devil," added he, "will all the money "which we can ſave avail us, ſince the king alone will be benefited "by it? I am determined, inſtead of drinking leſs, to increaſe my "quantity; and where I ſwallowed three-halfpenny worth of liquor, "to double my doſe. I ſhall, at leaſt, ſecure that from this rapa-"cious king. Begone, therefore, and bring me ſomething to "quench my thirſt." Theſe arguments, however witty or juſt, not carrying conviction to the woman, ſhe renewed her exclamations; which were ſuddenly interrupted by the entrance of a counſellor of the court of Aids, a commiſſary, and a ſerjeant, who demand payment of the taxes, on pain of ſeizure of their effects.

The torrent of abuſe is now turned into a new channel, and directed againſt the unwelcome intruders; of whom the huſband demands their buſineſs and functions. "We are," reply they, "officers of "juſtice." 'Impoſſible,' ſays he; 'officers of juſtice do preciſely 'the reverſe of every thing practiſed by you. I don't believe you. 'Produce your commiſſion.' The counſellor ſhews the order, in virtue of which he acts; while the woman, affecting to be apprehenſive, that, on account of their inability to pay the tax, their furniture and goods would be ſeized, ſlily ſeats herſelf on a cheſt. The commiſſaries order her to riſe in the king's name. She refuſes; but they compel her, and the cheſt is at length opened. In an inſtant out ruſh three devils, who lay violent hands on the unfortunate collectors of the taxes; and each devil ſelecting his man, throw them over their backs, and carry them off in triumph. This was the natural

tural concluſion of the piece, which could not be accuſed of a deficiency in poetical juſtice [60].

Conſequences of it.

If, however, the dramatic exhibition cloſed, it was followed by another of a more ſerious nature. The counſellors, commiſſaries, and ſerjeants, irritated at being thus expoſed to deriſion on a public theatre, made ſuch complaints, and took ſuch effectual meaſures, that the actors were all committed to priſon. By the king's expreſs interference and command, they were, nevertheleſs, ſet at liberty on the ſame day. He had ſufficient magnanimity to deſpiſe ſuch attacks, and to tell the perſons who conceived themſelves aggrieved, that "if any affront "had been given, he had received a far greater one than they; but "that he readily forgave it, in conſideration of the amuſement which "he had derived from ſo laughable a performance." That it was one of the beſt exhibitions of its kind repreſented at Paris, is certain, ſince l'Etoile adds, "Every one allowed, that, for a long time paſt, "there had not been ſeen at Paris a more pleaſant farce, better "played, or of a livelier invention [61]." We muſt own, that there is a wide interval between it and the productions of Moliere; yet the firſt comedy of that incomparable writer, "L'Etourdi," was performed at Lyons only forty-ſix years afterwards [62]. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that, while in the capital of France the drama was at ſo low an ebb, in London, Shakſpear had produced ſome of the moſt beautiful, though eccentric and irregular comedies, which have ever excited the admiration of mankind.

Interference of Henry.

Low ſtate of the drama.

Italian comedians.

A company of Italian performers ſeem to have annually viſited, if they did not remain ſtationary in the French metropolis, after Mary of Medecis' arrival. In 1603, we find the company of Iſabella Andreini reciting before the court [63]. They were received with applauſes; but we do not exactly know what was the particular ſtyle

[60] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 140—142.

[61] Ibid. p. 142.

[62] Biogr. Dict. vol. ix. p. 258.

[63] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 446.

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and nature of their performance. Henry, in 1608, writes to the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Sully, enjoining him to pay the Italian comedians a ſum of money on account, and to order them to repair to him at Fontainbleau [64]. Buffoons, male and female, as well as pages and dwarfs, conſtituted part of the royal eſtabliſhment, and had fixed penſions or ſalaries annexed to their offices [65]. Mathurine, a woman who followed the court in the capacity of a fool or buffoon, ſeems not only to have enjoyed the privilege of taking perſonal freedoms with the king, but to have poſſeſſed no inconſiderable degree of favour and intereſt [66]. The order of the nobles, in the aſſembly of the "Notables" at Rouen, demanded in their collective capacity, that the ſovereign would maintain in his houſehold the greateſt number of pages that he was able; and that he would give them an education becoming gentlemen, as well as capable of forming them to the exerciſe of arms [67].

Buffoons.

Pages.

Never did the rage for play, one of the moſt deſtructive to morals of any which can be tolerated, prevail more univerſally, nor attain to a greater pitch of enormity, than under this reign. It received every poſſible encouragement from the king's example; and it is one of the greateſt defects in his character. The contagion was not limited to the court, but pervaded private life, and fatally corrupted the manners of the inferior orders. It would be difficult to credit the amount of the ſums hazarded at play, if they only ſtood upon the teſtimony of Baſſompierre, d'Aubigné, or l'Etoile. Unhappily, Henry's own letters, preſerved in Sully, afford inconteſtable proofs of the fact. In the autumn of 1608, "the king," ſays Baſſompierre, "knowing "that I was at Paris, wrote to me, to bid me return to court; "informing me, that I had hitherto been the deepeſt gameſter of the "ſet; but that there was a Portugueſe, named Pimentel, recently

Rage for play.

[64] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 247.

[65] Confeſſion de Sancy, p. 316—318. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 343. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 65.

[66] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 141, 142.

[67] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 21.

"arrived,

" arrived, who greatly ſurpaſſed me. I ſtaid ſome days at Fontain-
" bleau, playing the moſt furious play ever known. Not a day
" paſſed, in which twenty thouſand piſtoles were not loſt and won.
" The ſmalleſt ſtakes were fifty piſtoles, and the largeſt were five
" hundred; ſo that it was poſſible to hold in one's hand, at the
" ſame time, above fifty thouſand piſtoles. I won in that year
" above five hundred thouſand livres at play. The king returned
" to Paris, and from thence to St. Germain, continuing the ſame
" train of play; at which Pimentel won above a hundred thouſand
" crowns[68]." If we conſider how little a piſtole is inferior in value to a pound ſterling, and if we recollect that Baſſompierre's winnings, in one year only, greatly exceeded twenty thouſand guineas, we ſhall be loſt in contemplating the effects of ſuch gaming. The conduct of Henry the Third, however profligate and depraved in other particulars, appears in the article of play, to have been leſs cenſurable than that of his ſucceſſor.

Enormous ſums loſt and won at court.

Its pernicious effects.

As if to corroborate the account given by Baſſompierre, we find Henry writing to Sully, on the 18th of January 1609, in theſe words: " My friend, I have loſt at play twenty-two thouſand piſ-
" toles, which I deſire of you to put into Feideau's hands, who will
" deliver you this note, that he may diſtribute the money among
" the different perſons to whom I am indebted[69]." It is by no means the only order of the kind to be found in Sully's works[70]. He promiſed, it is true, with ſolemn proteſtations to his miniſter, that he would not again play ſo deep; but it is evident that he did not keep his word. Sully ſo well knew his maſter's weakneſs, that, in the month of March of the ſame year, the king coming to dine with him at the arſenal, he ordered cards and dice to be placed upon table, as ſoon as the diſhes were removed. At the ſame time he cauſed a purſe, containing four thouſand piſtoles, to be put by Henry

Further proofs of it from Sully.

[68] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 134.
[69] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 276.
[70] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 326.

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for himſelf; and a ſecond, which held an equal ſum, for the purpoſe of lending to ſuch as played with him [71]. It muſt be admitted, that the ſtyle of play was, at leaſt, becoming a ſovereign. But we may ſee, in numerous inſtances, that the king, in the true ſpirit of a gameſter, loved the amuſement for its contingent advantages; and by no means refunded his winnings [72]. Many of the courtiers, ſeduced by ſo bad an example, ruined their fortunes at the gaming table. The younger Biron was among the number [73]. Primero appears to have been the faſhionable game [74].

Progreſs of gaming among the inferior orders.

How general and how pernicious the paſſion for play became before the cloſe of this reign, we may learn from l'Etoile. The facts related by him, are equally extraordinary with thoſe contained in Baſſompierre. "In this month of March 1609," ſays he, "have "been eſtabliſhed in Paris many new academies for play, where the "citizens of every age ſtake conſiderable ſums; which demonſtrates "at once the abundance, and the corruption of manners. The ſon "of a merchant has been ſeen to loſe at one ſitting thirty thouſand "crowns, who never inherited from his father more than ten thou-"ſand. A perſon, named Jonas, has hired a houſe for holding one "of theſe academies, in the ſuburb St. Germain, during fifteen days "that the fair laſts: he has given fourteen hundred livres for it [75]."

Diſſolution of manners and profligacy.

Theſe circumſtances, which muſt have been of univerſal notoriety, and which are commemorated by a contemporary writer of unqueſtionable accuracy, convey an incredible picture of the rage for ſo deſtructive an amuſement. We may reaſonably doubt, whether at any period of the reigns of Louis the Fifteenth, or of his unfortunate ſucceſſor, the "Palais royal," where every enormity and abomination found a ſecure aſylum in the centre of Paris, ever witneſſed greater, or even equal exceſſes in the article of play. It proves

[71] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 282.

[72] Ibid. p. 290. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 153; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 146.

[73] Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 54.

[74] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 467.

[75] About ſixty pounds ſterling. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 193, 194.

the

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the total inattention of the municipal and civil government, to the morals of the people, ſince it is evident that no meaſures were taken for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch ſeminaries of vice, or for the puniſhment of thoſe who preſumed to open them in the metropolis.

Corruption, how general.

Venality was another of the diſtinguiſhing features of the age. It was by no means confined to the courts of law, but pervaded all the departments of civil government. Bribes were offered, under the form of preſents, without diſguiſe, and accepted without ſhame, even by miniſters and perſons of the higheſt quality. In 1606, when Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, arrived at Paris, he commenced his political operations and intrigues, by a regular ſyſtem of corruption. In order to retain the marquiſate of Saluzzo, of which he had poſſeſſed himſelf under the reign of Henry the Third, he found no means ſo effectual as money. The commiſſioners, named by the crown to diſcuſs and report upon that important object, though the conſtable Montmorency and the chancellor Bellievre were among the number, did not bluſh to ſell themſelves to a foreign prince, who had uſurped a part of the dominions of France [76]. Sully alone rejected his offers, and declined his magnificent preſents [77]. Such was the effect produced by Charles Emanuel's largeſſes, that they ſeduced the allegiance of Biron, procured him a perfect knowledge of the moſt ſecret deliberations of the French cabinet, and ſpread in ramifications ſo extenſive throughout the kingdom, as to menace the very exiſtence or tranquillity of the monarchy [78].

Duke of Savoy.

Foreign courts.

The ſame arts which operated with ſo much ſucceſs in Henry's court, he practiſed in turn, without ſcruple, to become maſter of the ſecrets of other princes, and to direct their counſels. After the deceaſe of Elizabeth queen of England, in 1603, we find the two miniſtries of France and Spain vying with each other in their efforts to

England.

[76] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 467, and p. 469.

[77] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 433—435.

[78] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 478. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 437—439.

corrupt,

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corrupt, and to purchaſe the counſellors of James the Firſt [79]. In the inſtructions ſigned by Henry the Fourth himſelf, and delivered to Sully, whom he ſent embaſſador to London, there is a ſpecific injunction, "to tamper with, and to bind to the ſervice of his ma-"jeſty, any of the confidential ſervants of the king of England, who "may be capable of ſerving him, and on whoſe adherence there "may appear to be room to confide [80]." The very nature of the expreſſions uſed, implies the objects intended to be effected by the embaſſador. Sully was not negligent in fulfilling the commiſſion; and he acted with ſo much dexterity, that James conſented, in ſome meaſure, to the corruption of his own miniſters [81]. The females of diſtinction about the perſon of Anne of Denmark, the new queen of England, were not forgotten in the pecuniary diſtributions [82]; and we ſee the earl of Northumberland among the firſt who negotiated for a penſion, which was promiſed him by Sully [83]. It may be amuſing to enumerate ſome of the preſents made to the principal perſonages, male and female, as they throw a light on the manners of the times; on the mode of conferring or conveying donations; and on the reſpective importance of the individuals themſelves. The whole liſt is to be found in Sully. Secretary Cecil has three dozen of gold buttons, ſet with diamonds. Lord Sidney, a chain of large gold beads, filled with perfume, enriched with diamonds; and the portrait of Henry the Fourth. The duke of Lenox, a band for a hat, with diamond taſſels. Among the names, are the Engliſh earls of Southampton and Devonſhire, as well as the earls of Roxburgh and Mar. To the counteſs of Bedford, a gold watch, ornamented with jewels. Even Margaret Aiſan, who is entitled "Fille de Chambre, and fa-"vourite of the queen," has her place among the ſubordinate perſonages [84].

Inſtructions to Sully,

to corrupt the Engliſh miniſters

and ladies.

Liſt of preſents and penſions

diſtributed by Sully.

[79] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 165.
[80] Ibid. p. 102.
[81] Ibid. p. 169, and p. 170.
[82] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 171.
[83] Ibid. p. 124, and p. 157, and p. 171.
[84] Ibid. p. 169.

Six

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Six years afterwards, when Henry diſpatched Baſſompierre to the court of Nancy, in order to negotiate an affair of the moſt delicate nature, the marriage of the Dauphin with the eldeſt daughter of the duke of Lorrain; the French miniſter was authorized to begin by corrupting and retaining all the perſons, who might be judged capable of facilitating the alliance. He was limited at firſt to ſix thouſand crowns in annual penſions [85]. Baſſompierre aſſures us, that on his offering Bonnet, preſident of Lorrain, and confidential miniſter of the duke, to intereſt him by a pecuniary recompence, in favour of the French king, Bonnet refuſed it; adding, that "he belonged to a "maſter who was capable of amply paying his ſervices [86]." Some inſtances of ſimilar elevation of mind and integrity are to be found, though rarely, among the French nobility, during the period under our contemplation [87].

Court of Lorrain.

Integrity of Bonnet.

The utmoſt libertiniſm of manners, and even contempt of decorum, characterized the conduct of the great. Henry led the way in this reſpect, and influenced eſſentially by his example, on the court, the nobility, and even on the people. During the ſiege of Paris in 1590, all the ſurrounding nunneries became the ſcene and receptacle of debauch. That of Maubuiſſon, where the royal ſtandard was diſplayed, exhibited an example of the moſt unreſtrained licentiouſneſs. Angelica d'Etrées, eldeſt ſiſter of the celebrated Gabrielle, was abbeſs of the convent [88]. The clergy, in 1596, complained, that all diſcipline and order were extinct in the female monaſteries throughout France [89]. We can ſcarcely conceive greater violations of decency, than many which are commemorated by l'Etoile; and they are ſo repugnant to our modes of acting, that they impreſs with no leſs diſguſt than amazement. We find the king, far from drawing a veil

Libertiniſm in the nunneries, and court.

[85] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 152.

[86] Ibid. p. 156.

[87] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 373. D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 335. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 351; and vol. xii. p. 309, and p. 446. Memoires D'Aub. p. 142—144.

[88] Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 236, 237, and p. 250—254.

[89] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 20, 21.

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over his amours, or trying to conceal them from the public eye, ſtudiouſly exhibiting them to every obſerver, and deriving a ſort of vanity from their publicity. Not only in his retirement, and in the apartments of his palace, he is always accompanied by his miſtreſſes; but in every diverſion, in acts of ſtate, in public ceremonies, in the camp, and even in the ſolemnities of religion, Gabrielle is conſtantly at his ſide. When madame de Sourdis' ſon was baptized in 1594, the king officiated as ſponſor to the infant, in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois at Paris. "From the inſtant that he entered," ſays l'Etoile, "till his departure, he never ceaſed laughing with his "miſtreſs, and careſſing her in different ways[90]." The ſubſequent part of their diſcourſe and deportment, was ſtill more incompatible with the reſpect due to the place, and to the act in which they were engaged. On the 17th of March in the following year, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm while they were hunting together in the neighbourhood of Paris, they returned to the palace. As they paſſed through the ſtreets, Gabrielle was on horſeback, aſtride, dreſſed in green; and Henry by her ſide, holding her hand[91].

Examples of it.

Henry and his miſtreſs.

When the duke of Mayenne came to Monceaux in 1596, to make his ſubmiſſion to his ſovereign, againſt whom he had been ſo long in rebellion, he was received by Gabrielle, who did the honours of the manſion, and conducted him to the royal preſence. At ſupper, Henry and his miſtreſs eat at one table; the duke, with Diana d'Etrées her ſiſter, were ſeated at another adjoining; and the courtiers facetiouſly called Mayenne, the king's brother-in-law[92]. So little reſtraint did they impoſe on the marks of their mutual fondneſs, that, in time of Carnival, Gabrielle, when accompanying him to the houſes of individuals, was accuſtomed to take off his maſk, and to kiſs him wherever they entered[93]. Even in council, they repeated the ſame indecent careſſes,

Indecorums committed

[90] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60, 61.

[91] Ibid. p. 90, 91.

[92] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 116, 117.

[93] Ibid. p. 151.

which

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which ſeem not to have excited any violent emotions of concern or of diſguſt in the miniſters preſent [94]. De Thou, who confirms many of theſe facts, cenſures the king for celebrating the baptiſm of his ſon by Gabrielle, with the ſame public demonſtrations of pomp and magnificence, which might have become the birth of a legitimate prince. The ceremony was performed by the papal legate, and accompanied by all the nobility, and the members of the States then convened at Rouen [95]. In the field, Gabrielle had her tent near that of her lover; and we find her lodged in the midſt of the camp before Amiens, in 1597: but the ſoldiery, either more delicate in their ideas of propriety, or leſs ſervile in their deference towards their prince, murmured ſo loudly at her preſence, that Henry was neceſſitated to remove her to a greater diſtance. Biron ventured to remonſtrate with him on the ſcandal to which his conduct gave riſe: a freedom not eaſily forgotten, even by ſo placable a monarch [96]. We may collect from l'Etoile, that the Spaniards themſelves, beſieged in Amiens, were indignant and diſpleaſed at Henry's bringing his miſtreſs into the camp [97].

by them.

Gabrielle, lodged in the camp.

All the acts of unworthy and unbecoming ſubmiſſion or homage, paid by the moſt proſtitute courtiers under Louis the Fifteenth, to his ſucceſſive miſtreſſes, the marchioneſs of Pompadour and the counteſs of Barré, were infinitely exceeded during the reign which we are reviewing. Not only the firſt nobility, but the princes of the blood, as Villeroy aſſures us, kiſſed the border of Gabrielle's robe, preſented her the napkin to waſh, and ſhewed her the ſame deference which they could have done towards their queen [98]. He ſays, that he reproached the duke of Montpenſier, with thus degrading and diſhonouring his own high rank. Even ladies and princeſſes, who might have been ſuppoſed more delicate or tenacious on ſuch an

Homage paid to her

by the princes of the blood,

[94] Journal Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 146, 147.
[95] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 25.
[96] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 96.
[97] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 177.
[98] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 200, 201. Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 38.

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article, betrayed equal complaiſance. We find the two ducheſſes of Nemours and of Montpenſier, aſſiſting at Gabrielle's toilet, and adjuſting her ornaments [99]. In the "ballets" given to her brother by the princeſs of Navarre at Paris, Gabrielle dances [100]; and when his ſiſter is confined to her bed by ſickneſs, the king always brings his miſtreſs with him to her apartment [101]. The ducheſs of Mercœur, who boaſted her deſcent from the antient dukes of Brittany, did not diſdain publickly to enter Angers, in the ſame open litter with Gabrielle [102]. Death itſelf could not extinguiſh her influence. Henry, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the kings of France, who were only uſed to wear violet as mourning even for their queens, put on black. The whole court aſſiſted at Gabrielle's funeral ſervice in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, and the foreign embaſſadors condoled on her deceaſe, as on that of a ſovereign [103].

and ladies of rank.

Towards Mary of Medecis, Henry ſeems ſcarcely to have obſerved any meaſures. At a time that he was already married to her by proxy, he publickly ſent the colours taken from the duke of Savoy at Charbonnieres, to his miſtreſs the marchioneſs of Verneuil [104]. Baſſompierre acquaints us, that, on the very firſt evening of the new queen's arrival at Paris, her huſband preſented to her the marchioneſs, her rival [105]. We may ſee in Sully, that, however œconomical on other articles, the king thought no expence too great, when the gratification of his paſſions was concerned. Henrietta d'Entragues exacted and received above twelve thouſand pounds ſterling, previous to the ſurrender of her perſon and honour [106]. His ordinary preſents and donations to Jacquelina de Beuil, counteſs of Moret, another of his favourites, are not leſs profuſe [107]. The circumſtances of her

Treatment of the queen.

Donations of Henry to his miſtreſſes.

[99] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60.
[100] Ibid. p. 79, 80.
[101] Ibid. p. 153.
[102] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 202.
[103] Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 85. Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 43.
[104] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 603.
[105] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 54.
[106] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 429, 430.
[107] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 73.

pretended

pretended marriage in 1604 with Chanvalon, in the view of all Paris, were of a nature totally ſubverſive of decency, and which demonſtrate the king's indifference or contempt for the public opinion [108]. Baſſompierre and l'Etoile, in every page of their works, give teſtimony to the diſſolution of manners produced by his example, not only in the court, but in the metropolis, and through all the walks of inferior life [109]. It muſt neverthelefs be admitted, that Mary of Medecis, whatever faults of character may be juſtly imputed to her, was irreproachable as to her private deportment. She even exerted herſelf with becoming dignity and ſeverity, to repreſs the torrent of licentiouſneſs which polluted every place where ſhe reſided. Her pride ſuſtained her virtue; and when ſhe was ſolicited by Henry to take ſome ſteps unbecoming a woman of ſtrict honour, in order to facilitate his deſigns on the princeſs of Condé, ſhe refuſed. "I may "ſuffer your amours," ſaid the queen, "but I never will become "ſubſervient to their gratification [110]." It is impoſſible not to admire this conduct.

Exemplary deportment of Mary of Medecis.

The baron de Termes, a man of the higheſt birth and connexions in the court, having been ſurprized in bed with la Sagonne, one of her maids of honour, ſhe not only diſmiſſed the unfortunate lady from her ſervice, with expreſſions of indignation; but the king's interpoſition and authority were neceſſary, to prevent her from proceeding to greater extremities. She beſought of Henry to immolate the baron to her reſentment by taking off his head; and he was compelled to abſcond for a conſiderable time. The governeſs of the maids of honour, though innocent of any connivance or participation in the fact, received her diſmiſſion. Even the powerful exertions of her confeſſor were ineffectual, to obtain a mitigation of theſe

Inſtance of her ſeverity.

[108] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 61.

[109] Baſſomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 43—46, and p. 116—135. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 118, and p. 156—159; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 136, and p. 147.

[110] Vittorio Siri. Mem. recon. tome ii. p. 260.

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punishments[111]. Mary, in thus asserting her own dignity, and reprobating the libertinism of the age, acted very differently from Catherine of Medecis, who tacitly encouraged and permitted the seduction of the females of her household. Among the singular inventions of gallantry meriting commemoration, may be reckoned "love cyphers." These were characters or marks, engraved by ladies on the arms of their lovers. In 1591, when the chevalier d'Aumale was killed at St. Denis, his body was so disfigured by wounds as not to be recognizable. A woman of pleasure, named la Raverie, at length discovered and identified the body, by shewing the "Chiffres d'Amour," which she had herself impressed on his arm[112].

Love cyphers.

Some remains of the spirit of chivalry are still to be traced under Henry the Fourth. When du Plessis Mornay was attacked and severely wounded by St. Fal in 1597, the king instantly wrote to the former in these terms: "I am exceedingly affected at the outrage "which you have received, in which I participate both as your king "and as your friend. In the first capacity, I will do justice to you "and to myself. If I only enjoyed the second title, you have not "any who would be more ready to unsheath his sword, nor who "would more cheerfully risk his life for you, than myself[113]. We find the duke de la Tremouille, when about to be invested in his castle of Thouars by the royal forces, writing thus to d'Aubigné: "My friend, I summon you, in compliance with your oaths, to "come and die with your affectionate, &c." D'Aubigné immediately returned the following answer: "Sir, your letter shall be im"plicitly obeyed. I blame it, nevertheless, in one thing, for having "alleged my oaths, which ought to be believed too inviolable ever "to remind me of them[114]."

Remains of the spirit of chivalry.

Instances.

Duke of la Tremouille.

[111] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 13, 14.

[112] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 205. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 402.

[113] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 179.

[114] Memoires d'Aub. p. 153.

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D'Aubigné.

The ſame writer acquaints us, that when he was entruſted by Henry the Fourth, ſoon after his acceſſion, with the perſon of the old cardinal of Bourbon, who was confined in the caſtle of Maillezais in Poitou, of which d'Aubigné was governor, he received intimation of an attempt meditated againſt his life by a captain named Dauphin, a partizan of the League. "This intelligence, though ſure," ſays he, "did not "prevent me from giving Dauphin a rendezvous at a ſolitary houſe "on the border of a marſh, where he was to be at day-light. It "being accepted, I quitted my fort alone, ordered the draw-bridges "to be raiſed after me, and having found him at the place ap-"pointed, I addreſſed him in the following manner; 'Many perſons "'have been deſirous to prevent me from coming to ſpeak with "'thee, becauſe thou art ſuſpected of having engaged to kill me, "'which, however, I would not believe. If, notwithſtanding, thou "'haſt conceived ſuch a deſign, behold two daggers which I bring, "'and of which I leave thee the choice, that with equal arms thou "'may'ſt atchieve thy enterprize. I have likewiſe cauſed a boat to "'be brought hither, to the end that thou may'ſt eſcape in it acroſs "'the marſh, if the chance of arms ſhould be in thy favour.' Dau-"phin, as much ſurpriſed at my offer as pleaſed with the frankneſs "of my proceeding, inſtantly threw down his ſword at my feet, and "aſſured me, with every poſſible mark of ſubmiſſion, that no ſuch "deſign had ever entered his head"[115]."

Combat for a dead body.

In the perſonal animoſity exhibited, as well as in the ſpeeches and defiances which were reciprocally made or ſent during the ſiege of Rouen in 1592, we are reminded of the heroic times. A combat took place between the troops on both ſides, over the dead body of a ſoldier who fell, which in obſtinacy and duration might vie with that for the body of Patroclus, under the walls of Troy, in the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad. Boiſrozé, on the part of the League, and the baron of Biron, at the head

[115] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 145, 146.

of

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of the royaliſts, contended for the corpſe; which was taken and retaken five times. It was finally borne off by Biron; and Boiſrozé, wounded, retreated ſlowly into the city [116]. We can never ſufficiently admire the ſpirit of military enthuſiaſm, and of pious veneration for the aſhes of the illuſtrious dead, which dictated the firſt article of the capitulation of Amiens by the Spaniards, in 1597. Previous to any ſtipulation in their own favour, the marquis of Montenegro demanded, in their joint names, that "the tombs of "Portocarrero, and of all the other officers who had fallen, ſhould "be preſerved inviolate; that neither their epitaphs nor trophies "ſhould be defaced; and that it ſhould be allowed them to remove "the bodies, whenever they might think proper." The demand was granted by Henry the Fourth [117].

Capitulation of Amiens.

How much ſincere and fervent piety tempered the valour of the moſt intrepid commanders, we may ſee in the example of that prince himſelf. D'Aubigné aſſures us, that on the night preceding the battle of Ivry, he was continually in prayer, attended by the Hugonot chiefs [118]. The ejaculation, which at the head of the battalions he pronounced aloud, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, only a few moments before the action commenced, is one of the moſt beautiful invocations for the divine aſſiſtance, commemorated or preſerved by hiſtory. It is to Davila, who was preſent on the occaſion, that we are indebted for its tranſmiſſion to poſterity. "O Lord, "thou knoweſt the intentions of my heart, and with the eye of thy "providence thou pierceſt my moſt ſecret thoughts! If it be beſt "for this people that I ſhould attain the crown, which of right "belongs to me, do thou favour and protect the juſtice of my arms: "but if thy will hath determined the contrary; if thou takeſt away "my kingdom, take away my life alſo at the ſame time, that I may

Mixture of piety and courage.

Prayer of Henry, at Ivry.

[116] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 13, 14.
[117] Davila, p. 1171. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 686.
[118] D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 229.

"ſhed

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" ſhed my blood fighting at the head of thoſe, who expoſe them-
" ſelves to danger for my ſake "[119]." We are at a loſs, in peruſing this ſpontaneous effuſion, whether moſt to admire the humble ſubmiſſion of Henry to the Supreme Being, or his magnanimous contempt of life, if it could only be preſerved by the ſacrifice of his throne. Had the unfortunate and paſſive prince, who lately expired on a ſcaffold by the hands of his rebellious ſubjects, poſſeſſed a ſmall portion of the heroic courage of the founder of his houſe, the calamities of the family of Bourbon and of France might unqueſtionably have been averted or prevented.

Reflexions on it.

Defiances and challenges to ſingle combat, as proofs of veracity, had not fallen into total diſuſe under Henry the Fourth. The duke of Mayenne, calumniated by the Spaniſh embaſſador the duke of Feria, beſought of Philip the Second to permit and to authorize him to aſſert his innocence in ſingle combat againſt his adverſary, as well as to name the place and arms with which they ſhould engage. Philip appears to have treated the requeſt with ſilent diſregard[120]. Only three years before, in 1591, the earl of Eſſex, commanding the Engliſh auxiliaries in the royal camp before Rouen, ſent a cartel to Villars, the general of the League within the city, conceived in theſe words: " If you will fight, either on horſeback or on foot, armed or
" in your waiſtcoat, I will maintain, that the quarrel of the king is
" more juſt than that of the League, that I am better than you, and
" that my miſtreſs is handſomer than yours. If you ſhould decline
" coming alone, I will bring with me twenty, the worſt of whom
" ſhall be an antagoniſt worthy of a colonel; or ſixty, the leaſt a
" captain." Villars accepted the challenge, but declined abandoning his public duty to engage in a private combat, till circumſtances ſhould juſtify ſuch a conduct. To the two firſt aſſertions contained in Eſſex's cartel, he gives the lie in the moſt unequivocal and formal

Defiances and challenges.

Mayenne.

Eſſex and Villars.

[119] Davila, p. 899.

[120] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 417, and p. 428.

manner:

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manner: but, as to the ſuperiority of their reſpective miſtreſſes in point of beauty, he ſpeaks with more caution, as well as indifference, contenting himſelf with doubting it, and treating it as in itſelf an object which gave him little concern. No conſequences followed from the defiance [121]. Eſſex always wore Elizabeth's glove faſtened to the loop of his hat, while conducting her forces to the aid of Henry [122].

Rage for duels.

The frenzy of duelling was one of the moſt characteriſtic features of the age; and the impunity which attended them, loudly accuſed the injudicious lenity, or the criminal negligence of the government.

Numbers who fell in them.

L'Etoile aſſerts, that between the acceſſion of Henry the Fourth and the year 1607, at leaſt four thouſand French gentlemen periſhed in theſe encounters: he adds, that, far from the computation being an exaggerated one, it would be eaſy to verify the liſt in the moſt accurate manner [123]. The dead bodies of thoſe who fell, were interred without ceremony, as a matter of courſe, in which juſtice had little intereſt [124]. A deſperate and ſucceſsful duelliſt obtained not only pardon, but enjoyed the moſt diſtinguiſhed conſideration in the court [125].

Duel of Crequi and the baſtard of Savoy.

If we would wiſh to form an idea of the received modes of thinking and acting, in affairs of honour among men of condition, we may do it by reviewing the principal circumſtances of the memorable duel, fought in 1599 between Don Philippin, natural ſon of Emanuel Philibert duke of Savoy, and the marquis of Crequi. It originated from an aſſertion made by the latter, that, at the capture of a ſmall fortreſs ſituated among the Alps, he had got poſſeſſion of a ſcarf belonging to Philippin. The Savoyard conceiving himſelf inſulted by ſuch a declaration, ſent a challenge to Crequi. It was accepted; and at their meeting the baſtard was wounded, which terminated the con-

[121] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 502, 503.
[122] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 55.
[123] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 149.
[124] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 52, and p. 91, and p. 118, and p. 136, and p. 148.
[125] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 57.

teſt.

teſt [126]. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, indignant at hearing that Crequi boaſted of having "drawn the blood of Savoy," commanded his brother, on pain of his diſpleaſure, inſtantly to wipe out ſo inſolent an affront to their common family. Phillippin obeyed, though, as it would ſeem, not without reluctance and many delays. A ſecond cartel was ſent to Crequi, who received the ſummons with alacrity. As it appeared nevertheleſs, to be too open and indecent a violation of the laws prohibiting duels, for Leſdiguieres, who was governor of Dauphiné, to permit his own ſon-in-law Crequi, to meet his antagoniſt on the French territories; the ſcene of action was fixed in a little iſland formed by the Rhone, in the dominions of Savoy: the meadow was mowed, in order to prevent any ambuſcade or ſurprize [127]. It was ſtipulated that the two combatants ſhould fight on foot in their ſhirts, armed with a ſword and poniard. Only a ſingle ſecond was to be preſent on either ſide, and they were not to be ſeparated till one was killed. Twelve gentlemen of the reſpective countries were ſtationed at a certain diſtance, who after the termination of the duel, were to take poſſeſſion of the body of the vanquiſhed champion, and to protect the victor from harm [128]. A long debate aroſe, whether the ſeconds ſhould engage, which they warmly demanded, eſteeming it diſhonorable to be only ſpectators of the danger of their friends; but it was at length determined, that the principals alone ſhould decide the conteſt. Previous to the duel, each of the combatants underwent a ſearch, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining that they neither had concealed arms nor enchantments. Crequi, ſuffering his adverſary to exhauſt his firſt fury, watched an opportunity, transfixed him with his ſword, and commanded him to aſk his life. The baſtard diſdained it, and expired on the ſame evening. Crequi repaſſing the river, returned to Grenoble unwounded, and covered with glory [129].

Origin of it.

Place of meeting.

Circumſtances of it.

Death of Don Phillippin.

[126] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 310, 311. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 424—426.

[127] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 400.

[128] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 312, 313.

[129] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 426—428. Guichenon, Hiſt. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 768. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 89, 90. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 313—316.

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In 1602, Henry the Fourth endeavoured to repreſs the fury of duels, by iſſuing an edict of the moſt rigorous nature: it inflicted the puniſhment of death, not only on the perſon ſending, but on him who accepted a challenge under any circumſtances. Confiſcation of effects, and every prohibition which could impreſs with terror, or deter from an appeal to the ſword, were added. "Never," ſays De Thou, "was a more wiſe or reſpectable law promulgated, nor ever "was any ſo ill obſerved [130]." The facility of the king; importunity, merit, or favour, obſtructed its execution, and reſcued the culprit from the purſuit of juſtice [131]. Wearied at length with the perpetual infractions committed, and deeply ſenſible to the devaſtation made among the upper claſſes of his ſubjects by ſo pernicious a cuſtom, Henry, only about ten months before his death, publiſhed a ſecond edict, in which, to all the other penalties, was joined degradation from the rank of nobility. He even bound himſelf by a ſolemn and public oath, never to pardon an offender, even at the ſolicitation of the queen [132]. The ſhort period which elapſed between its publication and his own aſſaſſination, left its operation a matter of doubt. Under Mary of Medecis, the vigor of the laws was relaxed; and it was reſerved for Louis the Fourteenth, by wholeſome ſeverity, to impoſe ſome reſtraint on a practice ſo general and deſtructive.

Edict of Henry againſt duels

evaded.

Second edict.

Crimes.

During the licence of the civil wars, every crime which is produced by anarchy and contempt of the royal authority, was perpetrated with impunity. Murders were committed, not only by the deſperate and the indigent, but they were coolly and premeditatedly enjoined by perſons of the higheſt quality, and carried into execution with every circumſtance of notoriety. Aſſaſſination was as often a meaſure of ſtate, or an act of policy, as a gratification of private enmity and revenge. When the duke of Mayenne received intimation that Menelay, governor of la Fere, had betrayed a diſpoſition to deliver up

Murder and aſſaſſination.

Menelay.

[130] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 110. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 253, 254.

[131] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 216, 217.

[132] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 54—58.

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the place to the king, he ſent thither Colas, lieutenant of his guards. That emiſſary arriving, and accompanied by a choſen band of adherents, having met with Menelay as he returned from the celebration of maſs, inſtantly fell upon and diſpatched him. The government of la Fere was his recompence for ſo atrocious an act [133]. CHAP. IV.

In the murder of marſhal St. Pol at Rheims, three years afterwards, we ſtrongly trace the ſpirit of the time, when the great conſidered themſelves as emancipated from every reſtraint impoſed on their paſſions or intereſts. That officer had riſen from a very humble condition, to an extraordinary height of power and conſideration, under the duke of Guiſe, aſſaſſinated at Blois: his talents, adherence, and intrepidity, ſurmounted the impediments ariſing from the meanneſs of his extraction. After the death of his patron, he had received from the duke of Mayenne, as head of the League, the proviſional ſuperintendance of the province of Champagne, during the non-age and impriſonment of the young duke of Guiſe, the hereditary governor, detained in the caſtle of Tours. In this elevated ſituation he not only maintained himſelf by his courage and capacity, but he had been ſubſequently raiſed to the dignity of a marſhal of France, by Mayenne. Unable, on account of the obſcurity of his origin, to obtain from the king a confirmation either of his civil or military titles, he had thrown himſelf into the Spaniſh faction. With a view to retain the excluſive poſſeſſion of Rheims, he introduced into the city ſome foreign forces; nor could the moſt preſſing ſolicitations of the duke of Guiſe, who having eſcaped from confinement, deſired to reſume his government, induce St. Pol to diſmiſs the auxiliaries. Irritated at his refuſal, and anxious to recover Rheims, even by the commiſſion of a crime, if other means were ineffectual, the duke, while affecting to engage in amicable expoſtulation with St. Pol, drew his ſword; and before the other could put himſelf in a poſture of defence, laid

St. Pol.

His riſe, and conduct.

He is killed by the duke of Guiſe.

[133] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 62. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 480, 481. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 460.

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laid him dead by a ſingle thruſt. The body, ſtripped, and in a ſtate of nudity, was long left a wretched ſpectacle for the inhabitants. To complete the horror of ſo foul and treacherous a tranſaction, it was committed in the preſence, and with the approbation of the duke of Mayenne. The poſſeſſion of Rheims enabled his nephew to purchaſe advantageous terms from the crown, with which he ſoon afterwards opened a negotiation. Henry gladly extended a pardon to Guiſe for every paſt offence, and received into his obedience the province of Champagne [134].

Impunity of crimes.

Encouraged by ſuch examples; ſecure of the tacit, or even ſpecific obliteration of all their crimes, on ſubmiſſion to the king; and accuſtomed to act, each in their ſeparate command, as independant chiefs; the leaders trampled on every moral or political reſtraint. Too many proofs of this fact occur in the annals of the period. We

Du Pleſſis.

find the ſieur du Pleſſis in 1598, exacting, rather than obtaining the abolition of various murders aggravated by perfidy, and which ought to have conducted him to the moſt ignominious end. But he was in poſſeſſion of caſtles, which it imported to reduce, and whoſe ſurrender guaranteed his ſafety [135]. If we may believe the teſtimony of the criminal himſelf, who was executed at Meaux, the arch-duke Albert entertained in his ſervice an aſſaſſin, at about three pounds ſterling a month, who had undertaken to diſpatch Henry the Fourth with a croſs-bow of a new invention. We ought not, however, lightly to permit ourſelves to credit theſe accuſations, often the off-

Other examples.

ſpring of credulity, error, or malignity [136]. The nobility who adhered to the royal cauſe, were not more ſcrupulous in the uſe of expedients to accompliſh their projects of vengeance, than the followers of the League. In 1595, the count de Chaunes and the marquis d'Humieres, two men of the higheſt quality, cauſed their wives to be murdered: jealouſy produced, in both caſes, ſo tragical a ſcene. One

[134] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 412, 413. Journ d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 24—26. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 239—241.

[135] Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 526, 527.

[136] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 141.

of them was ſtrangled with her own hair by perſons maſqued, and the other was drowned by her huſband himſelf. Neither enquiry nor puniſhment followed theſe enormities [137].

Outrages committed in the metropolis.

Even after the extinction of the civil diſſenſions, and the revival of the power of the crown, it was long before the manners of the nation grew more humane, or the majeſty of the laws could impoſe a reſtraint on private animoſity and revenge. The capital exhibited frequent inſtances of the inability of penal ſtatutes, to ſecure perſonal ſafety. "On the 29th of January 1604," in a time of profound tranquillity, "two gentlemen," ſays l'Etoile, "having met on "horſeback in one of the moſt frequented ſtreets of Paris, one of "them compelled the other to diſmount, drew his ſword, and laid "him dead on the ground. He then got upon his horſe, and hold-"ing in his hand the naked ſword ſtained with blood, retired at a "foot pace, towards the gate of 'St. Antoine,' without any perſon "attempting to moleſt him. It was about four o'clock in the after-"noon, and ſtill broad day-light [138]." With what facility outrages of every ſort were committed in the metropolis of France, we may collect from many paſſages in the ſame author. La Fin, whoſe teſtimony had been principally inſtrumental in bringing Biron to the ſcaffold, having repaired to Paris about four years afterwards, was attacked as he paſſed the end of the bridge of "Notre Dame" on horſeback, in the middle of the day. Twelve or fifteen men, well mounted, unhorſed him, and left him on the ground, covered with blood. Having diſcharged ten or twelve piſtol balls at him, and killed or wounded ſeveral other perſons, this band of aſſaſſins traverſed the city at full gallop, with their drawn ſwords and fire-arms in their hands. No purſuit was made after them, for more than twenty-four hours ſubſequent to the fact; nor were the perpetrators ever brought to any tri-

La Fin.

[137] Obſervations ſur Alcandre, dans l'Hiſt. d'Hen. III., vol. i. p. 294. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 41—44.

[138] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 3, 4.

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bunal, though it was eaſy to conjecture their names and quality [139]. Vermond, one of the diſcarded lovers of Margaret of Valois, indignant at her preference of a new favourite, put him to death at the door of the queen's palace. Being ill mounted, he was overtaken in his flight, brought back, and beheaded on the ſpot where he had perpetrated the crime. Margaret had the inhumanity, as well as indecency, to aſſiſt at his execution [140].

Mazanſſi.

The reſidence, and even the preſence of the king himſelf, extended no protection. In Auguſt of the ſame year 1606, Mazanſſi, a brave Gaſcon gentleman, was killed by du Terrail, under the windows of the royal apartments in the Louvre, on the edge of the foſs ſurrounding the palace. He had juſt quitted his ſovereign, who was a witneſs to the murder, and who expreſſed the utmoſt concern, as well as indignation, at ſo audacious an infraction of the reſpect due to himſelf and to the laws. It was nevertheleſs impoſſible to overtake du Terrail, who made his eſcape unhurt, into the Netherlands [141].

State of the provinces.

That the provinces were in a ſtate of equal or greater diſorder, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, ſeems to be inconteſtable. In many parts of the kingdom, ſuch was the diſſolution of all government, that robbers and banditti covered the country, infeſted the high roads, and committed every ſort of outrage. It excites no little aſtoniſhment to find theſe crimes ſubſiſting unpuniſhed, in a time of perfect tranquillity, during many years, and almoſt down to the concluſion of Henry's reign. We muſt neceſſarily admit either the ignorance, weakneſs, or negligence of an adminiſtration, which could tolerate ſuch diſorders. In the vaſt tract of France extending from the Loire to the Garonne, comprehending Poitou, Saintonge, and Guienne, life and property were as inſecure, as at any period of the civil wars under Charles the Ninth. From 1602 to 1608, four bro-

Banditti in Poitou and Guienne.

[139] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 110.
[140] Vie de Margarite, p. 396, 397. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 109.
[141] Ibid. p. 121, and p. 195, 196.

thers, of the name of Guilleri, intercepted all communication. The fairs, for thirty or forty leagues round, were deſerted, and mercantile tranſactions were totally ſuſpended. Theſe chiefs had under their command not leſs than four hundred deſperate followers, who retreated with the booty acquired in their excurſions, to a fortreſs ſituated in deep woods, near the town of Niort in Poitou.

Guilleris.

Such was their audacity and contempt of the civil power, that they affixed in the trees, on the ſide of the great roads, inſcriptions declaring their objects and principles. "Peace to gentlemen; death "to provoſts and archers; the purſe of merchants." The declarations were rigidly enforced, and they did not fail to kill all the officers of police or juſtice who fell into their poſſeſſion [142]. We could not credit facts ſo extraordinary, if they were not tranſmitted to us by l'Etoile; and if they were not, from their very nature, matters of univerſal notoriety. In peruſing them, we ſhould be tempted to conceive ourſelves tranſported to a barbarous country, deſtitute of laws, and in a ſtate of inſurrection againſt the ſovereign: yet ſuch was the condition of one of the moſt civilized kingdoms of Europe, under a prince ſo dreaded and reſpected as Henry the Fourth. It may be inferred, from an expreſſion of l'Etoile, that he was ignorant of the outrages committed; and that as ſoon as he received information of them, he authorized meaſures for their ſuppreſſion: on the other hand, it is difficult to believe, that a king and miniſters ſo enlightened and vigilant, could remain for many years uninformed of the condition of ſome of the moſt commercial and extenſive provinces of France.

Their depredations.

Reflexions on them.

It became neceſſary to attack theſe formidable robbers in a regular manner, and to aſſemble forces for the purpoſe. In September 1608, orders were iſſued from Henry to Parabelle, governor of Niort, to levy a body of troops adequate to ſo deſperate an enterprize. He aſſociated to himſelf eighteen provoſts of the neighbouring diſtricts;

Meaſures of the court, for their ſuppreſſion.

[142] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 182, 183.

and,

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and, by the aid of the peaſants and citizens, they ſoon formed an army of four thouſand five hundred men. Artillery was judged requiſite to enſure ſucceſs. Preceded by four ſmall field-pieces, Parabelle ventured to approach and to ſtorm the caſtle occupied by the banditti. Their commanders were not wanting to themſelves, though aſſailed by ſuperior numbers. They ſallied out of the fort, and endeavoured to open a paſſage ſword in hand; but overpowered and ſurrounded, the greater part was cut in pieces. One of the Guilleris, taken alive, expiated his crimes on the rack, as did about eighty of his accomplices[143].

Puniſhment of the banditti.

Forgeries.

The fabrication of falſe letters, or patents of nobility, may be reckoned among the characteriſtic crimes of the period: it had grown to a pernicious height under ſhelter of the civil wars; and was one of the firſt objects of ſevere repreſſion, as well as puniſhment, after the reſtoration of tranquillity[144]. So univerſal was the practice of forgery, that De Thou aſſures us, in 1601, during the time of the Jubilee, when it was enjoined to every individual to make confeſſion of his offences; by the teſtimony of the prieſts, not fewer than a hundred thouſand perſons voluntarily accuſed themſelves of having committed forgeries[145]. The fact ſtrongly proves the general depravity of manners. By an edict iſſued in 1609, fraudulent bankruptcies were puniſhed with the ſame rigour as robberies[146].

Impoſtors.

Impoſtors ſeem to have excited the moſt ſevere animadverſion of the laws. A man who had aſſumed the name and quality of Bartholomew Borgheſe, and who ſtiled himſelf nephew, or natural ſon to pope Paul the Fifth, was for no other crime conducted to an ignominious puniſhment in 1608. He was hanged, and his body thrown into the flames[147]. As the papal nuntio, by order of his court, warmly ſolicited the falſe Borgheſe's condemnation, we may be led to imagine that ſome deſire to gratify the pontiff, induced

[143] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 183, 184. Mercure Fran. tome i p. 289.
[144] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 159, 160.
[145] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 573.
[146] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 54.
[147] Ibid. p. 29, 30. Bruys, Hiſt. des Papes, vol. v. p. 155.

the

the commiſſioners named by the king, to inflict ſo diſproportionate a penalty as death, for an offence, which, however great, might have been fully expiated by impriſonment.

Offences againſt morals.

It is not undeſerving of notice, as it diſplays the modes of thinking, that ſome acts, which we conſider and repreſs rather as treſpaſſes againſt morals and religion, than as crimes againſt civil ſociety, were capitally proceeded againſt in the age under our review. Blaſphemy was, in more than one inſtance, puniſhed with an ignominious death. A lunatic, who called himſelf Jeſus Chriſt, was, without any regard for the diſordered ſtate of his intellects, publickly executed in 1597[448]. In 1604, a man, convicted of having "uttered horrible "and execrable blaſphemies againſt Jeſus Chriſt and his moſt holy "mother," was hanged, and afterwards burnt at Paris[449]. Another unhappy wretch ſuffered in the ſame manner for ſimilar expreſſions, three years afterwards, before the cathedral of "Notre Dame[450]." In the two laſt caſes, the criminal words uttered were ſuppreſſed, and the ſentence itſelf was conſumed to aſhes with the body, in order to bury in oblivion ſuch impiety, and to prevent its pernicious conſequences among the people. It is probable that in the preſent age, offenders of this deſcription would only have undergone a ſhort confinement, if they had not even eſcaped all correction. Nor can we forbear obſerving, that, in the examples above cited and preſerved by l'Etoile, the culprits were all low mechanics, or waiters at places of vulgar diverſion. Men of a ſuperior deſcription in life, would ſcarcely have been proſecuted with ſo much ſeverity.

Blaſphemy.

Puniſhment of it.

Remarks on the crime.

Inceſt.

Inceſt was likewiſe, under Henry the Fourth, conſidered to be deſerving of death, and capitally puniſhed. "On the ſecond of Decem-"ber 1603," as we learn from the ſame accurate writer, "were be-"headed in the 'Greve,' at Paris, a handſome Norman gentleman,

[448] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 160.

[449] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 60.

[450] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 145.

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Severity of punishment.

"possessed, as it was said, of ten thousand livres (or about four hun-"dred pounds) a year, named Fourlaville; with his sister, who was "very beautiful, and about twenty years of age: they were executed "for incest, which they had committed together." The unfortunate father threw himself at the king's feet, to demand their pardon, which Henry declared that he would have granted, if the lady had not been a married woman. Mary of Medecis, by her expressions of horror and detestation at the enormity of their crime, appears to have conduced to confirm her husband's resolution, not to remit or commute the punishment. The only mark of grace extended by the crown, was to restore the bodies to the father for interment [151].

Magic.

Magic and sorcery, where the proofs of those pretended crimes appeared to the judges to be satisfactorily made out, did not less inevitably conduct to the scaffold or the stake, than the offences already enumerated. Frequent examples of such absurd and barbarous executions occur in l'Etoile, who seems to consider them as dictated by justice, and necessary for repressing the intercourse with evil spirits [152].

Persons put to death for it.

In 1609, a priest and a stone-cutter, convicted of magic, were hanged and burnt at Paris. The former was proved "to have said the ritual "of the mass backwards, and to have sacrificed to the devil many "times under a gallows." He had associated to himself as assistants or noviciates, a number of lawyers' clerks, peasants, and shepherds, under promise of teaching them occult secrets of various kinds. The art of discovering hidden treasures, of transmuting metals, of curing diseases regarded as beyond medical skill, and of acquiring affection, were among the number [153]. It can scarcely be doubted, that, whatever degree of credulity might be found among the disciples, the principals were impostors.

[151] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i, tome ii. p. 270.
[152] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 57, 58, and p. 201.
[153] Ibid. tome ii. p. 199.

If

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If we carry our enquiries minutely into the genius and ſtate of the human mind under Henry the Fourth, it will be found, that not only the weak, the timid, the illiterate, and the ſuperſtitious, had recourſe to magic as a means of penetrating into futurity, but that men of ſuperior education and endowments were equally dupes to this imaginary ſcience. The old cardinal of Bourbon, who was proclaimed king by the League, had been ſeduced from his allegiance, and gradually perſuaded to abandon the intereſts of the family from which he ſprung, by the deluſive aſſurances of aſtrologers, who promiſed him the crown, after the extinction of the reigning houſe. His reliance on the completion of theſe predictions, laid him open to all the artifices and ſuggeſtions of the duke of Guiſe [154]. We find the young cardinal of Bourbon, his nephew, equally credulous, and imputing his death not to the natural and gradual advances of diſeaſe, but to the effects of ſorcery. When Sully came to viſit him, only a ſhort time before he expired, the cardinal exclaimed: "I am equally rejoiced to ſee you, as I am perſuaded you will be concerned to find me in this ſtate of languor, "caused by the wickedneſs of madame de Roziéres, who, as every "one believes, has bewitched me in ſuch a manner, that either ſhe or "I muſt ſpeedily die." He added, that as he had been aſſured three days before, of madame de Roziere's dangerous condition, who lay at the point of death, he was ſtill in hopes, if ſhe died, that her charm might diſſolve with her [155]. It is difficult to gather from Sully's account, what degree of faith he lent to the cardinal's narration.

Belief of the age in magic.

Cardinal of Bourbon.

The young cardinal of Bourbon.

His converſation with Sully.

Gabrielle d'Etrées, from her anxiety to aſcend the throne, and from the perpetual doubts which naturally aroſe in her mind relative to her attainment of ſo vaſt an object of ambition, had frequent recourſe to aſtrologers. They in general ſeem not to have flattered her with the gratification or enjoyment of her hopes. She was deeply affected at ſo mortifying a notification, which preyed on her ſpirits, impaired

Gabrielle d'Etrées.

[154] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 154, 155. [155] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 149.

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her health, and not improbably accelerated her end[156]. Matthieu declares, that he had ſeen the calculation made of her nativity, which was ſhewn to him by the man who had drawn it, and who aſſured him that it was infallible. The prediction aſſerted, that "a child "would prevent her from attaining the elevation to which ſhe "aſpired[157]." As ſhe died in violent convulſions, at an advanced period of her pregnancy, and was delivered of a dead child before ſhe expired, the prophecy appeared to be fulfilled. It was generally believed by her contemporaries, and poſitively aſſerted by thoſe who were about her perſon and bed during her laſt illneſs, that ſhe had communication with evil ſpirits, who twiſted her neck, and left her in a ſtate of diſtortion[158]. The melancholy ſpectacle exhibited by her body, which preſerved no trace of its former beauty, and which was ſo changed as ſcarcely to retain the appearance of a human figure, gave riſe to theſe fables, invented by credulity, and propagated by folly or malignity[159].

Calculation of her nativity.

Prediction reſpecting her.

Circumſtances of her death.

Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy, one of the moſt ſuperior princes of his time, yet, as we learn from De Thou, lent an implicit belief to the aſſurances of aſtrologers; he even regulated in many inſtances, his political or military enterprizes, by their fallacious calculations[160]. The criminal and unfortunate Biron, whoſe ambition abbreviated his life, and precipitated him on ruin, was, even to his laſt moments, occupied with magical ſtudies. When Bellievre the chancellor, and others of his judges, entered his chamber in the Baſtile, to announce to him his ſentence and immediate execution, they found him calculating his own nativity, and deeply engaged in the reſearch[161]. He not only accuſed la Fin of having deluded and ſeduced him into ſchemes of a treaſonable nature, by the predictions

Duke of Savoy.

Biron.

His defence on his trial.

[156] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 421.
[157] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 307.
[158] Obſervations ſur Alcandre, p. 300, 301.
[159] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 211, 212.
[160] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 538.
[161] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 192.

which were ſhewn him; but he ſet up ſeriouſly in his defence at the bar of the parliament, as his beſt exculpation, that he was a paſſive agent, under the involuntary impulſe of magical ſpells and powers too ſtrong for reſiſtance. Nothing can ſo ſtrikingly depicture the feeble progreſs which reaſon had made at the beginning of the laſt century in diſpelling error, as to contemplate a marſhal of France pleading magic in extenuation of treaſon: nor, though the excuſe was conſidered as invalid or inſufficient by the tribunal before which he was arraigned, did the mention of it appear to excite either laughter or contempt in the audience. "What reliance," exclaimed Biron, "can be placed upon the teſtimony of the moſt wicked and execra-"ble man upon earth, who never approached me without enchant-"ment, nor quitted me till he had previouſly enchanted me? Who "bit me on the left ear, made me drink charmed waters, and called "me his king, his prince, and his lord? He will not dare to deny, "that he ſhewed me an image of wax, which pronounced theſe "words in Latin, 'Rex impie, peribis.' If ſuch was his empire "over an inanimate body, what could he not effect upon me, whoſe "will he tyrannized by magic, and did with it whatſoever he "pleaſed!"[162] It requires the unanimous agreement of contemporary and impartial writers, to convince us that there is no exaggeration in theſe facts. Nature of it.

Sully, as we may gather from various paſſages in his Memoirs, by no means regarded aſtrological ſtudies or predictions as undeſerving of credit and attention[163]. Even Henry the Fourth himſelf, with the inconſiſtency natural to the human mind, while on ſome occaſions he profeſſes his contempt for ſuch deluſive purſuits, yet at other times ſeems equally perſuaded of their foundation. L'Etoile ſays, that two perſons, Riſacaſza and Villandri, had foretold the king Sully. Henry the Fourth.

[162] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 307, 308, and p. 335. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 194. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 90. Chron. Septen. p. 304, and p. 311.

[163] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 31—33, and p. 310.

his

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his danger from Chatel's attempt to aſſaſſinate him in 1594, but that he laughed at their idle prognoſtications [164]. On the memorable day when he was ſtabbed by Ravaillac, if we may credit the ſame writer, his natural ſon, the duke of Vendome, came to him, to entreat of him not to ſtir out, as la Broſſe, a man celebrated for his ſkill in aſtrology, had declared that he was menaced with a ſignal calamity. "La "Broſſe," replied the king, "is an old cheat, who has a mind to "get ſome of your money; and you are a young fool to believe "him. Our days are numbered before God [165]." It is clear however, that he did not always think or act with ſuch compoſure [166].

His contempt of aſtrology, and belief in it, on other occaſions.

One of the moſt ſingular and well-atteſted facts of his life, is the prediction that he would be ſtabbed in a coach. As early as 1604, Henry himſelf related it to Sully, adding, that he reſigned his life into the hands of the Supreme Being, and that he had always been moſt apprehenſive of poiſon [167]. Voltaire, ſceptical as he is upon almoſt every point, admits the reality and exiſtence of ſuch a prediction; which, he adds, originated from the king's timidity in a carriage: but, he forgets that thoſe alarms were produced by the denunciation [168]. We have Henry's own authority for it. During the preparations made for celebrating the queen's coronation, Sully ſays, that he often, in the agony of his mind, exclaimed, "I ſhall die in this city! They "will kill me. For, not to conceal any thing from you, I am "aſſured that I ſhall be killed at the firſt great ceremony which I "ſhall perform, and that I ſhall die in a coach. This it is, which "renders me ſo timid [169]." All theſe inſtances of credulity and ſuperſtition held to and aroſe from the ſtate of the human mind in that age: they diſappear in a more enlightened period. No aſtro-

His preſages of his aſſaſſination.

[164] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 69.

[165] Ibid. vol. ii. tome ii. p. 224, 225.

[166] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 91. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 22, 23.

[167] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 334; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 477.

[168] Voltaire, vol. x. p. 229.

[169] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 476, 477, and p. 479.

loger

loger foretold the lamentable deſtiny of Louis the Sixteenth, of his queen and ſiſter, the ſubverſion of the moſt antient of the European monarchies, and the calamities of every kind with which France has been deſolated ſince 1789. The progreſs of reaſon and ſcience has diſſipated the deluſions practiſed on ignorance.

Reflexions.

Facility of impoſtures.

The propenſity to believe in the marvellous and the impoſſible, an infirmity common to man in every century, neceſſarily attains force, in proportion to the general darkneſs. Paris, at the period which we are ſurveying, was a theatre on which the groſſeſt impoſtures were greedily ſwallowed. Martha Broſſier, a miſerable and illiterate wretch, trained to perſonate a demoniac by an artful and indigent father, whoſe deception was at once ſo obvious and ſo coarſe as to excite ridicule; yet long agitated the capital, and might have produced an inſurrection, if vigorous meaſures had not been adopted by the parliament. She appeared in 1599, at a time when the minds of the public were ſtill in a ſtate of dangerous fermentation, and not long after the promulgation of the edict of Nantes in favour of the Proteſtants. Neither the detection of her impoſture previous to her arrival in the metropolis, the ignorance and imbecility of her conduct, nor the decided teſtimony of able and experienced members of the faculty, could diſpel the illuſion. Mareſcot, a phyſician whoſe mind was liberated from the ſuperſtitious prejudices of the age, and who beheld in the contortions of the pretended demoniac, only the ſymptoms of ordinary diſeaſe, heightened by artifice, endeavoured to undeceive the multitude. After detecting her tricks, he had the courage, in defiance of the admonitions of the eccleſiaſtics, who aſſerted that ſhe was under the influence of an evil ſpirit, to ſeize and ſtop her in the midſt of her moſt violent geſticulations or convulſions. The deception was apparent and undeniable [170].

Martha Broſſier.

Her appearance and deceptions.

Teſtimony of Mareſcot.

[170] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 209—211. Chron. Sept. p. 89—91. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 392—396. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 334—338.

Notwith-

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Credulity of the Pariſians.

Notwithſtanding Mareſcot's attempts to diſabuſe the people, their credulity encreaſed in proportion to the efforts made for their inſtruction. Factious or bigotted prieſts ſupported the error; and ſome of the phyſicians, deceived by equivocal appearances, either ſpoke with heſitation, or pronounced her a demoniac. Her triumph was complete; and ſhe ventured, in her intervals of reaſon, to aſſert that ſhe was poſſeſſed by three devils. She proceeded to name them, to characterize them by their reſpective qualities, and to obtain belief, while ſhe inſulted the human underſtanding [171]. So univerſal was the contagion, that the moſt ſerious conſequences were juſtly apprehended; and Henry, alarmed, enjoined the parliament to take cognizance of the affair without delay [172]. The pulpits reſounded with appeals and declamations againſt the pretended infraction of the privileges of the clergy, by the interference of the civil magiſtrates. Under a government of leſs vigour, a ſedition in Paris would have followed. Even the final ſentence, pronounced by the higheſt tribunal in France, declaring Martha Broſſier free from all demoniacal poſſeſſion, and ordering her to be ſent back to her native town near Orleans, could not extinguiſh, though it checked the further efforts of faction in the metropolis [173]. She was ſoon afterwards, in defiance of the injunctions of the parliament, carried to Rome by a new patron, who hoped to convert her to purpoſes highly injurious to the repoſe of the French crown. But the papal court had changed its maxims; and Clement the Eighth, ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of Henry the Fourth to the holy ſee, refuſed his aid to perpetuate impoſture, or to excite commotions in the kingdom. The impoſtreſs herſelf, abandoned by all, was left to her original obſcurity, and reduced to the laſt extremities of indigence [174].

Serious conſequences dreaded.

Interference and ſentence of the parliament.

Termination of her impoſture.

[171] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 338.
[172] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 400, 401.
[173] Chron. Septen. p. 91. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 213—217. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 339—342.
[174] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 403—407. Confeſſ. de Sancy, p. 185—191.

Her

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Her ill ſucceſs did not hinder a renewal of the ſame experiment, only five years later. Another female, of the vileſt deſcription, named Adrienne du Freſne, excited equal curioſity in the capital: ſhe was nevertheleſs prevented, by the vigilance of the government and magiſtrates, from giving birth to any political calamity; and ſhe ſeems to have ſunk inſenſibly into oblivion[175]. Yet Cayet, a writer otherwiſe far from contemptible, does not heſitate to aſſert, that the demon who actuated her, had replied to himſelf in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, Italian, and German[176]. He even relates many curious particulars of the converſation of the evil ſpirit, who drew to him a continual concourſe of the idle, the ſuperſtitious, and the inquiſitive. It was long before philoſophy diſpelled theſe chimeras, and expoſed them to ridicule.

Other examples.

Belief in demoniacal poſſeſſion.

Among the popular ſuperſtitions, none was more generally believed, even by the higher claſſes, than the exiſtence and appearance of a phantom or ſpectre in the foreſt of Fontainbleau: it was called "the great hunter," and was always accompanied with the apparatus of the chace, horſes, hounds, and horns. Matthieu ſeriouſly aſſures us, that in 1599, Henry the Fourth, hunting with his courtiers, was interrupted by this ſupernatural appearance; that he commanded the count of Soiſſons to advance, in order to ſee from whence the noiſe proceeded; and that a large black man preſented himſelf among the buſhes, who ſuddenly vaniſhed, leaving the ſpectators petrified with amazement and terror. He adds, that "no doubt of the fact could remain, as it had been ſeen by ſo many eyes, and heard by ſo many ears[177]." Cayet, another contemporary writer, confirms it with additional circumſtances[178]. D'Aubigné likewiſe mentions it, though only as a ſtory which he had heard and believed[179]. But neither De Thou nor Mezeray have condeſcended to relate ſo puerile a fable; and their ſilence ſufficiently demonſtrates the contempt in which they held theſe vulgar productions of folly and credulity.

Popular ſuperſtitions.

Spectres.

[175] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 326—329.
[176] Chron. Septen. p. 407, 408.
[177] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 155—157.
[178] Chron. Septen. p. 93, 94.
[179] D'Aub. Hiſt. Gen. vol. iii. p. 540.

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Prodigies.

If, nevertheleſs, we wiſh to ſee how ſuſceptible of every impreſſion of that nature was the age itſelf, and how implicit was the belief given to prodigies or violations of natural cauſes, we may behold it fully diſplayed in the memorable ſpeech pronounced by the king in perſon, to the deputies of the parliament of Paris. The harangue was made in the palace of the Louvre, in March 1599, on occaſion of the promulgation of the edict of Nantes. It is not here a bigotted or credulous hiſtorian, who recounts a fact which he has heard from others. It is Henry the Fourth who aſſerts; and the members of the firſt tribunal in France, convoked by his order, who are the auditors. De Thou, one of the number, has commemorated the words, and tranſmitted them to poſterity. "I remember," ſaid the king, "it is now twenty-ſix years ago, "that being in the court of Charles the Ninth, I propoſed to Henry "of Lorrain duke of Guiſe, my relation, and who was then my "friend, to play at dice. There were with us a great number of "people of the court, and among others la Chatre, who is now "preſent, and who can authenticate to you what I am going to re-"late. The table was wiped; and at the inſtant that we were going "to begin our play, drops of blood appeared, which we vainly wiped "away, and which appeared many times, without our being able to "know from whence they flowed. We accurately remarked, that "none of the aſſiſtants bled at the noſe, nor at any other part of the "body. Aſtoniſhed at this prodigy, I drew from it a bad omen: I "immediately quitted the game, and I communicated my thoughts "to my friends. Turning to them, I ſaid, without being overheard "by the duke of Guiſe; I foreſee that there will flow torrents of "blood, on ſome future day, between the duke and me. Events as "calamitous to the ſtate, as painful to myſelf, have juſtified my pre-"dictions [180]." Voltaire, not content with reſolving this prodigy into the fallibility of the ſenſes, the ſuperſtition of the time, and the diſpoſition common to man in every age to believe in the marvellous,

Memorable one related by the king.

[180] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 375.

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endeavours, as far as he is able, to explain the fact, and to account for it on philoſophical or phyſical principles. "The Jeſuit Daniel," ſays he, "who has catched at this fact, ought to have known enough "of phyſics not to be ignorant, that black points, when they make "a particular angle with the rays of the ſun, appear red. Every "man may make this experiment in reading[181]." However ingenious the ſolution of Voltaire, it is evident that it cannot apply in the preſent inſtance, ſince Henry aſſerts that the ſpots were repeatedly wiped out, and as often re-appeared. There is ſcarcely any degree of teſtimony, however concurring or unanimous, which can, or which ought, to induce us to believe what is in itſelf impoſſible. If we were to admit the reverſe of the rule, hiſtory would become a collection of legends, fables, and prodigies.

Reflexions on it.

From the defective police of Paris, added to the dirt and filth of the inferior orders, the plague, or peſtilential and malignant diſeaſes, committed continual ravages in the metropolis and its environs[182]. In Auguſt 1603, we find near two thouſand perſons dying of it weekly[183]. Nor was it by any means limited to the dwellings of the indigent. Margaret of Valois in 1606, after ſeeing three of the officers of her houſehold periſh before her eyes, was neceſſitated to quit her palace in the capital, and to retire to one of the neighbouring villages for ſafety[184]. It was felt with no leſs ſeverity in the provinces[185]. Henry the Fourth, among the other appendages and prerogatives attached to the monarchical dignity, inherited that of curing the diſtemper known by the name of the king's evil. He ſeems not to have loſt any time, in diſpenſing its healing virtue to his ſubjects. As early as Eaſter Sunday 1594, only about a fortnight after the ſubjection of

The plague.

Its ravages.

The king's evil.

[181] Voltaire, Œuvres compl. vol. x. p. 166.

[182] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 133, and p. 135; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 51, and p. 118, and p. 123. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 18. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 619.

[183] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 259.

[184] Vie de Marg. p. 398.

[185] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 144.

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Paris, " he touched publickly," ſays De Thou, " in the court of the " Louvre, conformably to an antient cuſtom, ſix hundred and ſixty " poor perſons infected with the ſcrophula; and in his own apart- " ment, he touched thirty other perſons of a higher deſcription [186]."

Perſons touched by Henry the Fourth.

Cayet declares, that many of theſe individuals, it was notorious, had been cured by the royal touch; and he adds, that the voluntary return of the rector, profeſſors, and members of the univerſity of Paris, to their duty and obedience, was principally produced by the emotions excited in them, at ſeeing Henry thus fulfil one of the moſt ſacred functions belonging to a Catholic king of France [187].

Spaniards.

Matthieu ſays, that the greater number of thoſe who came to Fontainbleau in 1602, to avail themſelves of his power of healing, were Spaniards. They arrived, under command of a captain or leader, who brought in his hand an atteſtation from ſeveral Spaniſh prelates, of cures performed by Henry on their countrymen [188]. It may be inferred from this and other paſſages, either that Philip the Second and Third did not arrogate the ſame virtue, or that they had attained no celebrity among their own people, in its exerciſe. De Thou ſpeaks of the pretenſion and practice, as a prejudice ſanctioned by antiquity [189]. What confidence Henry himſelf placed in its efficacy, it is hard to ſay; but in his letters to Sully, he expreſſes great anxiety to touch the perſons who had repaired to him at Fontainbleau, for the purpoſe [190]. It appears from concurring teſtimonies, that towards the end of the ſixteenth century, the Spaniards were much more univerſally afflicted with cutaneous and leprous diſtempers, than the French. During the time that the troops of Spain remained in garriſon among the Pariſians, and peculiarly in the memorable ſiege of 1590, when they became domiciliated in the metropolis, they communicated the diſeaſe to

Leprous diſeaſes frequent among them.

[186] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 149.
[187] Chron. Noven. vol. iii. p. 347.
[188] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. ii. p. 212.
[189] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 521.
[190] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 72. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 240, and p. 252, and p. 266.

their

their allies. It was ſo malignant, that many hundreds died of it; but the ejection of the foreign auxiliaries ſoon afterwards, checked and gradually extinguiſhed its ravages [191]. We may reaſonably doubt, whether the malady of the Spaniards was not rather the one ſaid to have been brought from the new world; and the effects of which continued to be moſt ſenſibly felt among the French of every rank, throughout the period under our review. The ſymptoms, as deſcribed in many of the contemporary writers, juſtify the opinion [192].

Canine madneſs, common.

Among the ſcourges or calamities of the time, may juſtly be reckoned the frequency and deplorable effects of canine madneſs, particularly in Paris. No meaſures of efficacy ſeem to have been purſued, for preventing the accidents; and ſo imperfectly was the method of cure underſtood, that it was cuſtomary, on the firſt ſymptoms of inſanity, however equivocal or ſlight, to anticipate its progreſs, by putting the perſon to death. The mode of doing it was uſually by ſuffocation between two feather-beds, or by laudanum. We find inſtances in l'Etoile, of huſbands thus reluctantly diſpatching their wives, fathers their children, and friends performing the office of executioner to thoſe whom they moſt loved [193]. The unfortunate wretches themſelves often beſought of the perſons preſent, to liberate them from the horrors of madneſs, by adminiſtering to them poiſon. It is nevertheleſs evident, that the remedy of dipping in the ſea was known, preſcribed, and practiſed [194]. But the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the people, induced them frequently rather to recur to ſupernatural or pious means of cure. A ſhrine of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, on the frontiers of Flanders, was reſorted to by many individuals, who hoped by his interceſſion, to avert the conſequences of the accident. Experience conſtantly proved the in-

Perſons put to death, who were afflicted with it.

Superſtitious obſervances, and modes of cure.

[191] Satyre Men. vol. ii. p. 133. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 349, 350.

[192] Confeſ. de Sancy, p. 312, 313. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 382. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 102; and tome ii. p. 133, and p. 139, and p. 142; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 5.

[193] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 249; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 20.

[194] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 50.

ability

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ability of the ſaint to effect ſo ſalutary a work, without extinguiſhing the practice itſelf [195]. With ſuch difficulty does reaſon penetrate, and ſo natural is it to man to have recourſe to the moſt abſurd expedients under indiſpoſition, in preference to thoſe dictated by wiſdom and ſcience.

[195] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 22, and p. 128.

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